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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOURGEOIS SOCIAL IDEAL IN THE
GERMAN NOVEL FROM THE BAROQUE TO ENLIGHTENMENT:

A STUDY OF SCHNABEL'S INSEL FELSENBURG AND
GELLERT'S SCHWEDISCHE GRÄFIN VON G..

by



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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1970

Thesis
1970
114

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOURGEOIS SOCIAL IDEAL IN THE GERMAN NOVEL FROM THE BAROQUE TO ENLIGHTENMENT: A STUDY OF SCHNABEL'S INSEL FELSENBURG AND GELLERT'S SCHWEDISCHE GRÄFIN VON G.. submitted by G. Salmon in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

The two outstanding German novels of the first half of the eighteenth-century are both bourgeois in character, and both betray a strong inclination towards a realism which in the preceding age had largely been absent. The ideal settings of the baroque courtly novel had created no basis for a new bourgeois society, and the realistic trend of Grimmelshausen had been mainly pessimistic. But although Grimmelshausen advocated withdrawal from the world, the withdrawal in the sixth part of Simplicissimus (1668-1669) contains traces of optimism and is a forerunner of the positive withdrawal in Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg (1731), where a bourgeois society is set up on a desert island. By this time, however, the bourgeois world had been reinforced and modified by Weise and Reuter and by the sentimental influence of pietism. The middle classes were further strengthened by the bourgeois puritanism and moralizing of Richardson's Pamela (1741) and the bourgeois society was finally established in Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin (1747-1748).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Alison Scott for her patient help and useful suggestions in the writing of this thesis; and to the University of Alberta, the Dean of Graduate Studies and Dr. E. Reinhold for financial assistance enabling me to continue my studies.

Abbreviations

| | |
|------|---|
| I.F. | <u>Die Insel Felsenburg</u> |
| R.A. | <u>Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Aufklärung, 5.</u> |
| S.G. | <u>Gellerts "Schwedische Gräfin": Der Roman der Welt- und Lebensanschauung des vor- subjektivistischen Bürgertums</u> |
| DVLG | <u>Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literatur- wissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte</u> |
| EG | <u>Etudes Germaniques</u> |
| GQ | <u>German Quarterly</u> |
| GR | <u>Germanic Review</u> |
| GRM | <u>Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift</u> |
| MDU | <u>Monatsschrift für deutschen Unterricht, deutsche Sprache und Literatur</u> |
| PMLA | <u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</u> |
| WR | <u>Westminster Review</u> |
| ZDP | <u>Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie</u> |
| ZVL | <u>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literatur</u> |

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CHAPTER ONE

Reality and the New Society: A German background to
J.G. Schnabel's novel Die Insel Felsenburg

(i) Flight and withdrawal

Schnabel's Insel Felsenburg of the early eighteenth-century constitutes, among other things, an interesting climax to a trend which had appeared with certain writers since the pastoral works of the first part of the seventeenth-century. Through its very seclusion, the arcadian world depicted in these works immediately afforded a refuge from external existence. An excellent example of this occurs in Philipp von Zesen's Adriatische Rosemund of 1645.¹ This novel is set in the sphere of the rich upper-classes, and its great theme is "Beständigkeit der Liebe", the steadfast faithfulness of love. The two lovers, Markhold and Rosemund, are separated, firstly by geographical distance when Markhold undertakes a "Bildungsreise" to Paris; secondly, and more vitally, by their differing faiths, Markhold being a Protestant and Rosemund a Catholic. The pain of separation is too great for Rosemund to bear, and by her temporary withdrawal to an arcadian world she undertakes a flight from such sad reality into a Utopia at peace with itself and totally devoid of social objections. Although, as Körnchen comments, her anguish ensues from her own

sensitive soul,² she is able, as a shepherdess, to experience tranquillity among her sheep:

Bin ich gleich mitten im Adriatischen Mehre
gebohren, ... so hab' ich doch izund solche
stürmende wällenahrt verlahssen, und nahch
den stillen wässerlein, an deren unabgespühlten
ufern ich meine schähflein zu weiden pfläge,
meine sünnen gerüchtet. Jah ich bin from, de-
mühtig, stil und sitsam worden; da ich fohr-mahls
(ich mus es wüllig bekennen) argwähnisch, hohch-
fahrend, auf-geblasen und unruhig gewäsen bin.
Solche laster hab' ich nuhn gänzlich, vermitteltst
dises nidrigen läbens, das ich izund führe, aus
meinem härzen vertilget.³

Outside of her pastoral retreat Rosemund is exposed to all the worries and fears of lovesickness. Of her faithfulness to Markhold there can be no doubt, but it is this which causes her her spiritual anxiety. Withdrawn from the world, however, she is able to forget her fears and even experience a type of bliss. We become aware then of a psychological transformation in the heroine. The links with the outside world are never severed completely, and the view has been voiced, correctly, I think, that Rosemund is in fact merely engaged in a psychological game.⁴ For our purposes, however, the important factor is that she does estrange herself from society, in order to experience happiness.

Perhaps the most significant withdrawal in the whole of seventeenth-century German literature occurs in Grimmelshausen's portrayal of a vagabond during the period

of the Thirty Years War, Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus (1669).⁵ Of a completely different mould from Adriatische Rosemund, this novel mainly concerns the lower classes. Because of their frightening realism, parts of it are almost of historical interest, for Grimmelshausen fully exhibits the total horror and misery of a land being devastated by war.

Having seen his homeplundered and his people tortured by raiding troopers, Simplicissimus escapes into the forest. There he meets an old hermit whom we later discover to be a former captain in the Protestant army, the brother-in-law of General Ramsay, and Simplicissimus' own father. After Simplicissimus has spent about two years in the forest, the hermit dies, but during this time he has been taught to read and write and, above all, he has been encouraged to know himself, avoid bad company, and remain steadfast. Now alone, he decides to go out into the world, where his fortunes fluctuate between sparkling success and miserable failure. More often than not, however, the wretchedness of war leads him to experience the hardships of the latter. Amorous adventures, marriage, imprisonment, travel and evil company all contribute as well to his misfortune, and he eventually returns to the forest where he resumes the existence of a hermit.

Whereas Rosemund's withdrawal from society was more of a psychological transformation, Simplicissimus' decision to leave the world is a definite, irrevocable act, as the following parting words show:

Adieu Welt, denn du nimmst uns gefangen, und lässt uns nicht wider ledig, du bindest uns, und lösest uns nichtwieder auf; du betrübest, und tröstet nit, du raubest, und gibest nichts wieder, du verklagest uns, und hast keine Ursach, du verurtheilest, und hörest keine Partei; also dass du uns tötest ohne Urteil, und begräbest uns ohne Sterben! Bei dir ist keine Freud ohne Kummer, kein Fried ohne Uneinigkeit, keine Lieb ohne Argwohn, keine Ruhe ohne Furcht, keine Fülle ohne Mängel, keine Ehr ohne Makel, kein Gut ohne böß Gewissen, kein Stand ohne Klag, und keine Freundschaft ohne Falschheit. ⁶

These lines, taken directly from the reflections of the Spanish priest Antonio de Guevara, echo the deep pessimism of the novel. They describe totally the hopeless situation of the common people in time of war, and the underlying social criticism is reinforced elsewhere by direct attacks on the ruling classes. Olivier, for example, in trying to justify his means of existence, hits upon a true situation:

'Mein tapferer Simplici, ich versichere dich, dass die Räuberei das alleradeligste Exercitium ist, das man dieser Zeit auf der Welt haben kann! Sag mir, wie viel Königreich und Fürstentümer sind nicht mit Gewalt erraubt und zuwege gebracht worden? Oder wo wirds einem König oder Fürsten auf dem ganzen Erdboden für übel aufgenommen, wenn er seiner Länder Intraden genießt, die doch gemeinlich durch ihrer Vorfahren verübte Gewalt zuwege gebracht worden?'⁷

Simplicissimus' rejection of the world is both tragic and pathetic, and it conforms to the baroque notion of "vanitas mundi", for it implies the ultimate worthlessness, the illusory character and the transient nature of temporal life. The negation of this life can only serve to intensify the religious feeling, and just as all attempts at an heroic self-assertion in the world are rejected as fruitless, the only thing remaining is complete withdrawal from it in the hope of regaining a lost innocence. This is the fundamental trait of Simplicissimus. As the hermit's companion the hero was secure; in the world he experienced inconstancy. Only by re-accepting the precarious solitude of hermitage could he hope to find the path to happiness, as Meyer indicates:

Das Leben beim Einsiedler ist der feste Ausgangspunkt der Irrgänge des Simplicissimus in der Welt, die Einsiedelei bestimmt die spezifisch simplicianische Weltanschauung, die sich im Strudel des Geschehens siegreich behauptet, wenn sie auch immer wieder unterzugehen droht.⁸

On two occasions, however, the first five books of Simplicissimus seem to bear out a desire for a blissful society within the temporal sphere. Towards the end of the fifth book appears a description of a community of Hungarian anabaptists, an industrious, well-organized, thoroughly good and contented people. They earn their living under the guidance of an understanding administrator, and spend

the remaining time praising God and concerning themselves with their spiritual welfare:

Sie hatten erstlich grosse Schätze und überflüssige Nahrung, die sie aber keineswegs verschwendeten, kein Fluch, Murmelung noch Ungeduld wurde bei ihnen gespürt, ja man hörte kein unnützes Wort, da sah ich (Simplicissimus) die Handwerker in ihren Werkstätten arbeiten, als wenn sie es verdingt hätten, ihr Schulmeister instruierte die Jugend, als wenn sie alle seine leiblichen Kinder gewesen wären, nirgends sah ich Manns- und Weibsbilder untereinander vermischt, sondern an jedem bestimmten Ort auch jedes Geschlecht absonderlich seine obliegende Arbeit verrichten; Da war kein Zorn, kein Eifer, kein Rachgier, kein Neid, keine Feindschaft, keine Sorg um Zeitliches, keine Hoffart, keine Reu! ⁹

In the third book, the fantasies of the wandering buffoon, Jupiter, give us another example of a utopian existence. In his ravings he claims that a German hero will arise and bring peace to the land, by force if necessary. Religions will be united and reconciled, and a parliament will be formed from the wisest and most learned of men of all the cities. The result will be that man, "von keinem Fronen, Wachen, Kontribuieren, Geldgeben, Kriegen noch einziger Beschwerung beim Volk mehr wissen, sondern viel seliger als in den Elysischen Feldern leben wird."¹⁰

Both Utopias remain, however, as ideals. We are as sceptical of Jupiter's ravings, as Simplicissimus' foster-father is of his son's ability to become an anabaptist. Grimmelshausen is not writing here with the conviction of a believer; he is consciously portraying the unattainable. In this, the last grains of idealism are replaced by a stark

realism which characterizes the works of writers such as Weise and Reuter, although with them it is much more positive.

The Robinsonade of the sixth book marks a very interesting development of the hermit theme, and it is a forerunner of later works such as Die Insel Felsenburg (1731).¹¹ Simplicissimus' self-imposed exile has now become a sanctuary in which he may give his life worldly significance. His first complaint against the world was a bitter cry of disgust and resentment; his second is less emotional and much more rational, for the hermit has already experienced what his estrangement means. Whereas at first the devastating criticism threatened to overwhelm him, even though he had chosen withdrawal, the practical activity the island creates the basis for a temporal existence relying less upon the religious feeling, i.e. in this case thoughts of salvation in the hereafter, which the threat had intensified. As the later comparisons with Christian Weise will show,¹² Grimmelshausen tends to emphasize this religious feeling, just as he appears to negate temporal existence. On the island, however, although this process is by no means reversed, it is certainly true that temporal existence gains at the expense of the religious feeling, which consequently becomes almost pietistic. Just over sixty years later this situation was to become a fundamental feature of Schnabel's novel.

Whereas in the first five books the Hungarian 'perfect' society was seen to be quite unattainable and the German Utopia of Jupiter generally impractical, with idyllic Switzerland apparently socially and politically impossible,¹³ the desert island offers a definite hope of bliss and serenity in a pietistic, but positively temporal sense. It is true that it only has the one inhabitant, and that it does not become a breeding ground for a new society such as in Die Insel Felsenburg, but its worldly significance for the hermit is nonetheless undeniable. One must admit, however, that because the rejection of the world is reinforced by rationalism, the accompanying pessimism is all the greater, although it must be remembered that the latter is a reaction only against the world which had been left behind. In the first case, the "schnöde arge Welt"¹⁴ could only have meant the theatre of operations for the Thirty Year's War.¹⁵ In the second case geographical details are merged with the generalization of European evils and vices which could not be destroyed even with the help of God:

'Als aber die Güte Gottes solche Plagen [the immediate horrors of the War] samt der schrecklichen Pestilenz und dem grausamen Hunger hinwegnahm, und dem armen bedrängten Volk zum Besten den edlen Frieden wieder sandte, da kamen allerhand Laster der Wollust, als Fressen, Saufen und Spielen, Huren, Buben and Ehebrechen, dabei dann kein List, Betrug und politische Spitzfindigkeit gespart wird; und was das Allerärgste, ist dieses, dass keine Besserung zu hoffen, ...'¹⁶

The vital phrase, "dass keine Besserung zu hoffen", climaxes the reasoning behind Simplicissimus' decision to remain on the island. As we have seen, however, this does not necessarily negate life for him, and in the assurance of a positive existence in the temporal sphere we may perhaps see an early stage in the transition from the baroque pre-occupation with transiency and death, to the budding optimism of the age of Enlightenment.

(ii) Realism and the bourgeois society

By and large the German baroque novel is a form of literature written solely for the benefit of a courtly society, with its characters drawn from aristocratic and noble circles. As an instrument of feudal-absolutistic ideology it has been categorized by literary historians, and the various resulting titles are sometimes quite confusing.¹⁷ The courtly novel was very much in vogue in the second half of the seventeenth century, when, as the courts themselves were centres of absolutistic power, the kind of literature prevalent at them naturally pandered to their tastes. The challenge of reputable bourgeois writers writing for a wider reading-public did not materialize until the last decades of the century, and it was only with the emergence of a new bourgeois vitality in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth-century that the courtly literature finally declined.

The baroque courtly novel reflected the struggle between good and evil, between cruel power and decent civilization, between the tyrannical dictator and the noble prince. We see this, for example, in the conflicts between Octavia and Nero, Rome and the Cheruskans, Balacin and Chaumigrem.¹⁸ Throughout the whole genre the triumph of good over evil is fundamental, and as the characters are clearly aligned against each other from the beginning, there is no further development other than the victory of the one over the other. Borchardt is correct in contending that in these novels reality has become idealised,¹⁹ for in this way the social prestige of the courts could be maintained. The ideal heroes, the perfect qualities and the inevitable happy outcomes may thus be regarded as a justification and self-assertion on the part of the ruling classes in an absolutistic state.

It is interesting to see how great a part history plays in the courtly novel. All of the above-mentioned conflicts have some historical basis, and all have been placed in the service of the aristocracy. The past doubtless offered great opportunity for self-assertion, for the courts could readily point out the deeds of one hero or other. But because the courtly writers had sometimes to glorify, other times to blacken, the past became an idealised projection of their own longings.

The courtly novel, as the receptacle of aristocratic aspirations, was a successful bearer of the aristocratic ideology. As yet there was no basis for the down-to-earth realism that was to play an intrinsic part in its eventual decline. The early realistic trend of Zesen's Adriatische Rosemund had not found an echo, and the fundamental pessimism of Grimmelshausen's Simplicissimus had ended with a firm rejection of the world. What was needed was a positive affirmation of realistic existence, and when this appeared in the "political" novel of Christian Weise²⁰ it signified the first stage in the development of a bourgeois reality that was to run right through the novels of Reuter and Schnabel, to Gellert and beyond.

The "political" realism of Christian Weise did not merely refrain from the idealism of the courtly novel. It gave the bourgeois class new significance, and above all, tried to justify its position in the absolutistic state. Grimmelshausen's brand of realism had been mainly of negative value, for in portraying the horror and ugliness to which life could sink, he was unable to create a basis for a new social beginning. The positive factors of Simplicissimus' life on the desert island count as nothing in this, for although temporal existence is there affirmed, we have a situation which can only be applied to the hermit himself. Weise, in the preface to Die drei ärgsten Erznarren in der ganzen Welt

(1672), distances himself from Grimmelshausen's novel, not because he misunderstands it, but because he is critical of its "unpolitical" value. By "political" Weise understood the manner in which the individual could live happily according to his station, and be able to avoid misfortune. He desired nothing further than that the world could be "duped" to its own advantage, while to the heedful individual he wished "good fortune in his correction."²¹ Above all, however, Christian Weise wanted to be a people's writer:

Über Fürsten und Herren haben andere gnug geklaget und geschrieben: hier finden die Leute ihren Text, die entweder nicht viel vornehmer sind, als ich, oder die zum wenigsten leiden müssen, dass ich mich vor ihnen nicht entsetze. Den Leuten bin ich von Herten gut.²²

This did not mean, however, that he intended to introduce himself as a bourgeois champion fighting against the yoke of the aristocracy, for his work, taking the form of a moral satire, was meant to show the means by which the bourgeois class could emerge as a positive force in an absolutistic society. "Es sollte auf sachliche, vernunftbestimmte Art die politische Anpassung des Bürgertums an den Feudalabsolutismus bestätigen, sowie seine moralischen Eigenwerte propagieren."²³ Weise can neither be said to echo the complaint of an oppressed bourgeoisie, nor to defend the position of the aristocracy. Admittedly, there is some criticism of the latter:

Dann da hielte man [the aristocracy] es für eine Schande, auf bürgerliche Manier Geld zu verdienen, und wann ja etliche das Studiren so hoch schätzten, dass sie dadurch meinten empor zu kommen, so wären hingegen etliche hundert, die nichts könnten als Fische fangen und Vogel stellen. ²⁴

But there is also criticism of the bourgeois:

Was ist es nun mehr, ..., dass ein Kerl etwas liberal im Reden ist, wenn er seine Reputation dadurch bestätigen soll. Thut es doch die gantze Welt, was rühmen die Gelehrten nicht von ihren sonderlichen Meinungen, die Medici von ihren arcanis, die Juristen von ihren Exceptionibus, die Philoligi von ihren Manuscriptis, die Kauffleute von ihren Wahren, die Schäffer von ihrer Keule, und was des Pralens mehr ist? ... warumb soll er eben der Narr alleine seyn, da sich so viel Leute umb die Narrenkappe schlagen und schmeissen wollen ... ²⁵

The pedagogical emphasis in Die drei ärgsten Erznarren is obvious. Florindo may only inherit the castle by displaying the portraits of the three arch-fools in one of its rooms. The journey undertaken to find these individuals is merely an opportunity to gain worldly experience through perception of the mistakes of others. The travellers are then in reality cool, rational observers of human folly.

Most of the fools depicted are from the lower classes. They range from ridiculous fops to grasping misers, from pretentious lackeys to gluttonous rogues. They are observed through the eyes of an aristocratic party which no longer includes romantic cavaliers and courtly adventurers, but realistic representatives of the leading classes who, as such, are in Weise's eyes competent critics.²⁶ This would

indicate that Weise, concerned as he was with the people, knew their basic faults only too well, and therefore deemed the aristocracy more capable of assessing their situation. His choice of judges shows that he is not attacking the class-structure of the absolutistic state, but that he is much more concerned with exposing the weakness of the individual in it. As a writer for the people he is attempting to raise their moral standards and instill into their minds the wisdom they needed to assert themselves successfully.

Weise acknowledged both the specific abilities and limitations of the individual. As a fundamental principle of his thought this conforms to his acceptance of the class-structure, his exposure of fools and his encouragement to improve by fulfilling one's mental and social capacity. The notion of utility is new in the novel, but that Weise regards it as vital to the new society, is inversely implied in the satirical words of Gelanor:

Ich kenne ... einen Burgemeister, der will sich an den Griechischen Patribus zu tode lesen: einen Superintendenten, der schreibt Commentarios über die Politica und vertirt Frantzösische Romanen: Einen Stadt-Physicum, der will Barthii Adversaria continuieren: Einen Schul-Rector, der refutirt die Ketzer: Einen Kauffmann, der ist ein Chymicus: Einen Soldaten, der sitzt Tag und Nacht über Teutschen Versen: Einen Schuster, der Advocirt und heist novo nomine Licentiat Absatz: Einen Bauer, der schreibt Calender. Das heist mit kurtzen Worten so viel gegeben, ein iedweder Narr thut, was er nicht thun soll, und darzu er von Gott beruffen ist, das setzt er hinten an, gleich müste das ergon dem parergo weichen.²⁷

In this criticism, which includes representatives of the peasant, the lower bourgeois and the upper bourgeois classes, it is interesting to note that Weise has introduced a social ladder within those classes.

In other instances Weise's criticism takes the form of direct attacks on parents turned would-be educators, and blasphemous parents who unwittingly corrupt their children instead of improving them. Elsewhere, instead of satirizing a man's fundamental weakness, he throws his whole life open to judgement. The descriptions of the careers of the three bourgeois travellers²⁸ are each a moral lesson in themselves. By not conforming to the social limits of their class they had forfeited their former comfortable lives, and through their extravagance, idleness and vanity had been reduced almost to the level of beggars.

In Die drei ärgsten Erznarren existence is firmly based on "political"-bourgeois criteria, for as far as the bourgeois classes are concerned, it is a matter of establishing a new position within the absolutistic state.²⁹ In a society where honour was a mere title,³⁰ Weise laid the foundation for a positive ideal, which could be attained by the improving effect of observation and experience upon the character. It is this allowance, which Weise makes in an "honourless" world, that distinguishes him from Grimmelshausen, whose world is generally evil and leads to

corruption. Grimmelshausen's heroes travel the length and breadth of it but can only experience its wickedness. Thus, whereas Weise would have adopted Gelanor's attitude in Die drei ärgsten Erznarren, i.e. "im Unglücke sol man sich freuen, denn man hat die Hoffnung, dass es besser wird,"³¹ Grimmelshausen can only recede into hopeless pessimism. Man is weak and inconstant and must either capitulate to a demonic world or withdraw from it completely. As Viëtor indicates, there is "nichts von Kampf, nichts von heroischem Widerstand gegen die andringende Welt, die das Schicksal ausmacht."³² Weise, on the other hand, provides the means by which such a struggle can achieve success. Admittedly, his fools are not delivered to the world in the same manner as Simplicissimus was, but his rationalization of their plight is the key to eventual improvement, as Meyer implies:

Bei Weise ist die Narrheit nur ein Mangel, dem abgeholfen werden kann, indem man zur richtigen Einsicht in das Wesen der Klugheit gelangt.³³

With Grimmelshausen, Simplicissimus' observations of evil not only convince him of the sinful nature of the world; they also lead him to God. His life can only receive a purpose as a striving for spiritual peace, and in comparing this with Weise we become aware of a confrontation between religiosity and "political" adjustment. Furthermore, the latter is completed in a reality that for Simplicissimus had long since lost its value. Thus for Grimmelshausen

the religious feeling already mentioned (p. 7) gains at the expense of temporal existence,³⁴ so that if Weise can be said to look for worldly happiness, Grimmelshausen looks for divine grace.³⁵ As far as Weise is concerned, however, Arnold Hirsch goes further:

Es handelt sich jetzt nicht mehr um das irdische Leben in einem religiös konstituierten Diesseits, sondern bereits um das Leben im (absolutistischen) Staat. ³⁶

The affirmation of bourgeois reality is implicit in Weise's work. By observation and experience, not only by direct intervention, it may manifest itself in a "political" alignment within the absolutistic state. The empirical-rational moralising of his novels shows early traces of the Enlightenment, whereas Grimmelshausen was still mainly steeped in the baroque age. In this we see perhaps the fundamental difference in their writing.

Christian Weise was one of the earliest writers of the seventeenth-century who did not write primarily for the courts, but for, as he terms it, "die Leute." Via the satire he illustrated the vices and faults of the world, but in portraying the negative he exposed the positive. He showed people how not to live, and directly behind this stood a new concept of rational existence. The idea of leading a happy life through experience and intelligence brought a wave of confidence to the bourgeois classes, and

in this way the foundation for a new society was laid. It was not until nearly sixty years later, however, that such a society was created in literature with Die Insel Felsenburg. Between this and Weise's work another satirical writer yet deserves mention, Christian Reuter³⁷. Like Weise, Reuter too could mould and influence, but never quite create a new bourgeois world.

In Reuter's Schelmuffskys wahrhaftige/curiöse und sehr gefährliche Reisebeschreibung zu Wasser und Lande (1696) the bourgeois world, in the process of its self-establishment, is attacked for reaching beyond its social limits. Some of the criticism is doubtless intended for the Müller family of Leipzig, from whose inn Reuter was evicted in 1694. Frau Müller had two daughters and a good-for-nothing son, who might be regarded as Schelmuffsky's prototype, and the situation at the inn in Padua where Schelmuffsky spends a few weeks³⁸ is indeed suggestive of the former circumstances in Leipzig.

Schelmuffsky is a vain braggart and bourgeois simpleton, who by his own inadequacies and shortcomings makes himself appear ridiculous and ludicrous. He depicts himself as an aristocratic man of the world, handsome, able to cope with any situation, gifted with many fine talents - in short, "ein brav kerl." His very actions and words betray him, however, for what he is

(perhaps the most disgusting example of this being his behaviour at Herr Toffel's wedding³⁹) and thus we become aware of the contrast "bürgerlicher Rüpel - adeliger Geck."⁴⁰

Schelmuffsky's world exists only in his imagination. To convince us of its authenticity we are given detailed descriptions and whole lists of figures, as at the Mogul's palace, but they only serve to expose the world as a lie, and, as Hecht observes, "Schelmuffsky ist dabei von seinen Aufschneidereien selbst so gepackt, dass er sie nicht in epischer Gelassenheit als abgeschlossenes Geschehen beschreiben kann, sondern sie wirklich zu "erleben", ja zu agieren scheint, so dass aus der Vergangenheit Gegenwart wird und der epische Bericht ... sich ... in dramatische Handlung verwandelt."⁴¹ In the story itself Schelmuffsky's "reputation" is actually challenged on two occasions: by the sea-captain in part one, chapter six, and, more seriously, by his cousin in part two, chapter one.

When Schelmuffsky craves to show himself off as a fine and noble cavalier, we not only see in him the caricature of Frau Müller's son, but we may also discern the biting criticism against a bourgeois class over-reaching itself. The novelty of the work lies in the

method of criticizing by means of a fantastic series of lies. Reuter is in actual fact ruthlessly satirizing those sections of the bourgeoisie which, with inadequate culture and breeding, try to emulate the aristocracy and nobility. In the figure of the simpleton-braggart all such attempts are manifested. Schelmuffsky, hoping for compliments, honour and fame, succumbs to vanity, and lapses into disgraceful debauchery and drunkenness. Completely disregarding moderation and hard-working, honest and clean living, with no education, he can only resort to ridiculous stories. His situation is summed up extremely well by Jäckel:

Der täppische deutsche Pfahlbürger sucht aus seinem beschränkten Blickwinkel in Welt und Menschen das hineinzudenken, was seiner Meinung nach zum Wesen der höheren Lebensführung gehört: Ein vagabundierender Kumpan wird zum Bruder Grafen, eine Dirne zur Madame Charmante, eine Prügelei zu einem Duell, eine Bierreise zu einer Kavalierstour. ⁴²

By exposing the pretentious bourgeoisie to ridicule, Reuter attacks the "Alamodenwesen" of the time, but he is also poking fun at the mannerisms of courtly life infiltrating into the lower classes.⁴³ The old-fashioned baroque culture had declined so much that it was rapidly becoming outlived and superficial. Its bombastic idealism had been superceded by a rationalistic, down-to-earth realism which was to develop into the bourgeois morality in the next century. In Schelmuffsky, however, this realism is

intermingled with fantasy. While the simpleton's world is a fantastic illusion, the circumstances and situations portrayed in it are actually true. Hecht speaks of two contrasting levels, from which the novel's comic-satirical elements originate:

Nicht allein, dass Schelmuffsky aufschneidet und sich dabei immerfort unbewusst Lügen strafft, macht die Komik und Zeitkritik aus, sondern dass er aufschneidet und unbewusst trotzdem Wahrheiten sagt! 44

In the development in the German novel from Grimmelshausen to Schnabel Reuter plays an important part. Like Weise, he is a key figure in the transition from Baroque to Enlightenment and in the gradual assertive growth of the bourgeois class. Whereas Weise encourages this class to make its presence felt, Reuter attempts to subdue it and have it remain within its traditional bounds. This does not mean, however, that Weise wanted otherwise, for Reuter is only attacking those pretentious sections of the bourgeoisie which aspired to aristocratic heights with inadequate culture and breeding.

In Simplicissimus the hero reviewed the world and withdrew from it. Subsequently, the stark realism of the novel is mainly of negative value. Weise, however, in Die drei argsten Erznarren, gave a positive lead for the bourgeois world, and Reuter modified this lead by exposing the pretentious development arising from Weise's novel. Both Weise and Reuter laid the way open for improvement, but

both were unable to offer the final establishment of a bourgeois social ideal. Just over thirty years later, however, this was achieved in the island society of Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg. It was at once the call to greater things.

Footnotes

- 1 Philipp von Zesen (1619-89) was the son of a Lutheran pastor. He studied in Wittenberg before leaving for Hamburg in 1641. There he formed in the following year the "Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft" and later undertook a "Bildungsreise" through Holland, England and France. In Paris he met Jesais Rompler, who gave him the inspiration for the completion of his "Sprachgesellschaft". At intervals between 1649 and 1683 he spent a number of years in Holland, was made an honorary citizen of Amsterdam, and began a linen-business during his last stay. From 1683 until his death he remained in Hamburg.
- 2 H. Körnchen, Zesens Romane: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Romans in 17. Jahrhundert, Palaestra:Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie, CXV (Berlin, 1912), p. 84.
- 3 Phillip von Zesen, Adriatische Rosemund, ed. M.H. Jellineck, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts, CLX-CLXIII (Halle, 1878), p. 86.
- 4 J.G. Boeckh, G. Albrecht, et al., Geschichte der deutschen Literatur 1600 bis 1700, 2nd ed. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, V (Berlin, 1963), p. 434.
- 5 Grimmelshausen was born in the early 1620's in Gelnhausen. In 1635 he was captured by Hessian troops and brought to Kassel. He later served under, among others, the Imperialist general Götz. A year after the end of the War he married Katharina Henninger and eventually settled down in Gaisbach, now in Baden, as town-mayor. In 1674 his seemingly happy life was interrupted by the French Invasion, and he died two years later.
- 6 H.J.C. von Grimmelshausen, Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus, ed. A. Kelletat (Munich, 1956), p. 476. All subsequent references will be to Simplicissimus.
- 7 Simplicissimus, p. 352.
- 8 H. Meyer, Der Typus des Sonderlings in der deutschen Literatur (Amsterdam, 1943), p. 12.
- 9 Simplicissimus, pp. 459-460.
- 10 ibid., p. 222.
- 11 In 1668 Henry Nevill's The Isle of Pines appeared and was immediately translated into German. As a pre-Defoe "Robinsonade", it influenced Grimmelshausen.

- 12 See pp. 15-17 of this thesis.
- 13 For what other reason does Simplicissimus not go there to stay?
- 14 Simplicissimus, p. 481.
- 15 Switzerland and Hungary cannot justifiably be described as despicable and bad in view of Simplicissimus' accounts of them.
- 16 Simplicissimus, pp. 602-603.
- 17 Examples are: "Der politisch-historische Heldenroman" (Newald); "Der feudale Roman" (Boeckh, et al.); "Der h6fische Roman" (Borcherdt).
- 18 Respectively in: Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig, Octavia, R6mische Geschichte (1685-1707); Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein, Arminius (1689-1690); Heinrich Anselm von Ziegler und Kliphausen, Die asiatische Banise (1689).
- 19 H.H. Borcherdt, Geschichte des Romans und der Novelle in Deutschland (Leipzig, 1926), I, 211.
- 20 Christian Weise (1641-1708) of Zittau developed an interest in the theatre at an early age. After studying at Leipzig, he lectured in history, ethics, rhetoric and poetry, and after being refused a professorship in 1668, he took up employment as secretary to Count von Leiningen in Halle. In 1670 he became a professor at Weissenfels, and in 1678 he returned to his home town of Zittau to be rector of the academy. He continued in this post until the year of his death.
- 21 Christian Weise, Die drei 6rgsten Erznarren in der ganzen Welt, ed. W. Braune, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts, XII-XIV (Halle, 1878) p. 3. All subsequent references will be to Erznarren.
- 22 Erznarren, p. 3.
- 23 J.G. Boeck, et al., op. cit. (above, note 4), p. 489.
- 24 Erznarren, p. 50.
- 25 ibid., p. 102.
- 26 See A. Hirsch, B6rgertum und Barock im deutschen Roman: Eine Untersuchung 6ber die Entstehung des modernen Weltbildes (Frankfurt/Main, 1934), p. 86.

- 27 Erznarren, pp. 148-149.
- 28 *ibid.*, pp. 37-47.
- 29 Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- 30 Erznarren, p. 7.
- 31 *ibid.*, p. 175.
- 32 K. Viëtor, Geist und Form: Aufsätze zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte (Berne, 1952), p. 67.
- 33 Meyer, *op. cit.* (above, note 8), p. 11.
- 34 Except when Simplicissimus is on the island. See p. 7.
- 35 Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- 36 *ibid.*
- 37 Christian Reuter was born in 1665 in Kütten not far from Halle. His first school was probably at Merseburg, but in 1688 he enrolled at Leipzig university. At home in the gay student-life of the city he did not hurry his work, and in 1694 he took a room at the Red Lion inn of Frau Anna Rosina Müller. He did not stay very long, however, and was evicted for not paying the rent. Reuter soon took his revenge in the form of satires on the Müller family, for which he was banned from the university. In 1703 he appeared in Berlin after attempting to be reinstated as a student, and the last news of him was the christening of his son in 1712.
- 38 C. Reuter, Schelmuffskys wahrhaftige/curiöse und sehr gefährliche Reisebeschreibung zu Wasser und Lande, ed. P. Polenz, 2nd ed., Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, LVII-LIX. (Tübingen, 1956), pp. 102-113. All further references will be to Schelmuffsky.
- 39 Schelmuffsky, p. 53.
- 40 K. Tober, "Christian Reuters Schelmuffsky," ZDP, LXXIV (1955), 135.
- 41 H. Hecht, Christian Reuter (Stuttgart, 1966), p. 36.

- 42 G. Jäckel, Introduction to Christian Reuters Werke in einem Band, 2nd ed. (Weimar, 1965), pp. (20)-(21).
- 43 See H. Walden "Christian Reuter: Is he a baroque poet or not?", GQ, IX (1936), 75.
- 44 Hecht, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

CHAPTER TWO

J.G. Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg

(i) Introduction

Hans Mayer, in his essay Johann Gottfried Schnabels Romane, points out that the work and ideas of Christian Reuter and Johann Gottfried Schnabel, while basically affecting the same social class, differ greatly in general theme and style.¹ Whereas Reuter presents a satire on a certain bourgeois controversy, Schnabel creates a bourgeois Utopia far removed from Reuter's society, and, for that matter, Christan Weise's as well.

The early bourgeois social stirrings which occur in Weise's and Reuter's work develop with Schnabel into a full-scale social upheaval. In Die Insel Felsenburg this upheaval is realized in the pietistic-utopian society of the islanders, whose moral code is a direct contrast to the egoistic-utilitarian culture of a Europe still steeped in the absolutistic age.

Mayer, reminding us of the baroque-courtly, historical-mythological elements of Schnabel's novel, terms it "a highly interesting reflection of social transition in Germany."² It is incorrect to say, however, that Die Insel Felsenburg contains a fair combination of old and new elements; neither can it be said to signify a completed transition between courtly tastes and bourgeois vitality,

for the very reminder given above. The novel may then perhaps be best summed up as a work in which the transition is almost complete, but not quite.

Johann Gottfried Schnabel was born near Bitterfeld in Saxony on November 7th, 1692. His parents died when he was only two years old, and he was brought up by relatives who sent him to school in Halle at the age of ten. It seems that there is little more known of his early life, although Becker informs us that it probably consisted of continual journeys and adventures in the service of one master or other.³ He did take part, however, in the Dutch wars, serving under Prince Eugen, and then appeared at Stolberg in the Harz mountains at the court of the count. In spite of his duties there, i.e. he was court-barber, became court- and town-surgeon and eventually "Hofagent," he produced a twice-weekly paper, a series of poems and writings, and a work on Prince Eugen in the year of the latter's death in 1736. In 1731 he published the first volume of Die Insel Felsenburg, to be followed by three more volumes between the years 1732 and 1743. In 1738 he published Der im Irrgarten der Liebe herumtaumelnde Cavalier, and before his death in the early seventeenth-fifties he wrote three other novels.

(ii) The beginnings of a new society: the transition from exile to sanctuary.

The four survivors of the shipwreck, van Leuven, Concordia, Albert Julius and Lemelie, behave in typical Robinsonesque fashion after their disaster and subsequent arrival on the island. Living on what they are able to salvage from their shattered vessel, they soon realize that their scanty provisions will not last very long, and thus they are forced to turn to nature to supply their needs. Lemelie, however, undertakes no such action at all, partly because at that stage he feels doomed to die on the island,⁴ but probably mainly because the others will do it for him:

Lemelie tat nichts als essen und trinken, Tabak rauchen und dann und wann am Felsen herumspazieren, wobei er sich meist auf eine sehr närrische Art mit Pfeifen und Singen hören liess; für seine künftige Lebensunterhaltung aber trug er auch nicht die geringste Sorge.⁵

Lemelie's pessimism is only temporary, however, but his idleness and apathy still remain, although it is true that he does become more active in affairs. Later on, this activity has disastrous consequences.

At first the island is regarded as an exile. Lemelie curses Fate for his ill-fortune, but the others, more practical, make the best of what they have, rig up a signal and watch for a ship which will hopefully see it. Even after

discovering the paradisaic interior of the island, they gaze longingly at a ship that sails by and fails to see them. F.K. Becker's contention that from the very beginning there is "pure joy at insular life"⁶ must be viewed as incorrect, because the castaways long to leave the island and return to their former life. Furthermore, if the above-mentioned examples are not sufficient to prove the issue, one may also point to Albert's latent dissatisfaction prior to his marriage with Concordia.

Concordia is the first to settle down on the island. Unfortunately it is also she who must experience practically all of the early suffering. She is deprived of her husband when Lemelie pushes van Leuven over a cliff and all but deprived of her virtue when, bent on lust, Lemelie attacks her. After Lemelie's death, however, and after Albert has promised never to embarrass her with proposals of marriage, Concordia appears wholly reconciled to the insular existence. For her the island has become a sanctuary, a refuge from vice and intrigue, and a place where she may exercise virtue and honour. Strangely enough, however, it is not she who makes the first allusion to staying on the island. As Brüggemann indicates, the first thought of remaining had come from Lemelie, who was troubled by a sexual problem.⁷ His early pessimism over, he had declared that he would like to stay on the island, the only thing lacking him being a wife:

'Ich schwöre bei allen Heiligen, dass ich zeitlebens hier ruhig zu wohnen Lust habe. Es fehlt uns also nichts als zwei Frauen, für mich und Herrn Albert.'⁸

Although for Concordia the island has become a sanctuary, for Albert it is still very much an exile. A year after van Leuven's death Albert is down on the beach gathering provisions washed up by the sea. Looking up, he suddenly sees a ship, and is at once lost in a frenzy. He shouts, he fires a gun and waves a cloth, but he is unable to attract the ship's attention. Quite depressed and full of confused thoughts, he returns home for the evening meal. Concordia, however, shows no regret at all over the lost opportunity:

Wir speiseten und kamen hierauf in ein Gespräch, woraus ich abnehmen konnte, dass sie sich wenig oder gar nicht um das vorbeigefahrene Schiff kümmerte, auch grössere Lust bezeigte, auf dieser Insel zu sterben, als sich in den Schutz fremder und vielleicht roher Menschen zu begeben.⁹

In the days following, Albert loses all desire to work and spends most of his time on the island's northern cliff. He is not homesick for home's sake, however, as his real problem is his need for a wife. Yet he remembers his promise to Concordia, and notices with some regret that she still appears to be in love with her dead husband. In this situation it is his own honour and Concordia's chastity that bring him into spiritual danger. His almost bitter reflections are seen in his lamentation on the cliff-top:

Soll meiner Jugendbeste Kraft
In dieser Einsamkeit ersterben?
Ist das der Keuschheit Eigenschaft?
Will mich die Tugend selbst verderben?
So weiss ich nicht, wie man die lasterhaften Seelen,¹⁰
Mit grösserer Grausamkeit und Marter sollte quälen.

Unknown to Albert, Concordia has followed him and heard his complaint. After requesting him to tell her his life story,¹¹ she informs him in a letter of her trust in him and of her desire to be his wife. The marriage takes place that same evening, and from this time on Albert's distress and frustration are replaced by happiness and contentment. Equipped and furnished by nature with everything he needs, free of vice and intrigue that are personified in the figure of Lemelie, and above all, blessed with his dear and loving wife, Concordia, Albert too can now look upon the island as a sanctuary.

With the disappearance of the Robinsonesque elements, the scene is thus set for the development of the pietistic-utopian society mentioned above (page 27).

(iii) The morality of the sanctuary and the world of intrigue.

In Europe, van Leuven, Concordia and Albert had led honourable lives, and on the island they retain the same characteristics. By marrying Concordia, van Leuven had entered the bourgeois world, and together with Albert, he

and his wife create a strong bourgeois atmosphere. A feeling of mutual friendship and social responsibility exists between these three, but the harmony is disrupted by the anti-social figure of Lemelie. Lemelie is the representative of intrigue. As such he betrays the same egoistic and utilitarian characteristics as the absolutistic world which the other three had left. On the island his intrigues are propagated by a sexual question. Concordia is the only woman among three men, and it is this which ultimately drives Lemelie to murder her husband. Thinking that Albert will be powerless to stop him, he then attempts to force Concordia to submit to his lustful desires. Albert, however, intervenes and Lemelie runs against a bayonet held out by Albert in self-defence. Suffering painfully, he relates the sinful episodes of his life before eventually committing suicide.

The blackness of Lemelie's deeds is more than outweighed by the virtues of the others, whose moral values assume all the more significance on the island. Estranged from contemporary society, and greatly aided by Providence in their struggle for survival, they have the opportunity for a new beginning, in which their brand of morality can become a complete social code. As a contrast to Lemelie's intrigues, Schnabel shows us the virtuous restraint of

Albert towards Concordia. If Concordia is pious and true and values chastity as her highest treasure, then Albert is a worthy companion. He manages to keep his word to her in spite of his feelings, which, after all, as Concordia states, conform to "the instinct of Nature and reason, as well as to Divine and temporal laws."¹² Furthermore, Schnabel makes us doubly aware of Albert's worthiness when the latter, beseeching Heaven for spiritual comfort, distinguishes between his own consecrated love and the base desire which one would associate with Lemelie.

Although with Lemelie's death the immediate threat of intrigue has passed, the conduct of Albert and Concordia sometimes betray a fear that it might return. Happily married and satisfied on their island, they are apprehensive of all outside contact. Such apprehension conflicts with a moral problem, however, for Albert is well aware of the danger of incest arising among the children whom he and Concordia are raising. To dispense with this problem, the children would either have to leave the island or outsiders would have to be brought to it. The first alternative is unthinkable, as Albert much later emphasizes,¹³ but the second contains an element of danger, as it could lead to fresh intrigues. Thus, when three large ships raise the island, Concordia chooses not to attract their attention, as it is not known "ob es gute

oder böse Menschen sind."¹⁴ Albert persuades her otherwise, however, the thought of incest haunting him (perhaps he is thinking of Lemelie's words¹⁵), and Concordia, after explaining her former decision, places the outcome in God's hands:

'Bloss die Furcht vor bösen Menschen, die sich etwa unseres Landes und unserer Güter gelüsten lassen, Euch ermorden, mich und meine Kinder entehren und zu Sklaven machen könnten, hat mich jederzeit bewogen, zu widerraten, dass wir uns fremden und unbekannten Leuten entdecken, die vielleicht nicht einmal Christen sein könnten. Zugleich habe ich mich beständig darauf verlassen, dass Gott schon von ungefähr Menschen hersenden würde, die uns von hier abführen oder unser Geschlecht vermehren. ... Gott gebe nur, dass es Christen und redlich Leute sind.'¹⁶

Approximately a year later Amias and Robert Hülter arrive exhausted on the island after their ship has been wrecked. They are allowed to stay, and Robert eventually marries Concordia the younger. Amias, too old for similar ventures, suggests building a boat in order to procure husbands and wives for the other children. Concordia and Albert hesitate at first over this seemingly dangerous plan,¹⁷ but finally agree to it, for reasons already outlined. As they are sorting out timber for the vessel, a ship is seen aground near the island. With mixed feelings of fear and hope the islanders hurry down to the beach and rescue three women and six men, three of whom later die. Again the fear of intrigue sweeps through the minds

of the islanders. Again the opportunity to ease the incest problem causes a spiritual conflict. Yet any similar occurrence would place the islanders "zwischen Furcht und Hoffnung,"¹⁸ and they would still only be able to trust in God that their community would be sustained.

At various stages in the story trips are made to the outside world, but only in order to reduce the incest problem and to bring back skilled craftsmen. However, as Brüggemann mentions, even when contacts are made with the outside world, the feeling of mistrust runs high.¹⁹

Eberhard, for example, when called upon by his father's loyal friends to tell them of his adventures, is clearly on his guard against any possible intrigues:

Allein ich nahm mir für diesmal ein Bedenken,
allzu aufrichtig im Erzählen zu sein, sagte
daher nicht mehr, als ihnen allen zu wissen
dienlich, mir aber unschädlich sein mochte,
und gab vor, ich hätte auf einer gewissen
Insel einen vergrabenen Schatz gefunden, ...²⁰

The fear of intrigue and its harmful consequences finds its fullest expression when Albert sends Wolfgang to Europe for workmen. Wolfgang may take whatever he needs for the journey, but not whomever, as Albert explicitly states:

'An Gelde, Gold, Silber und Kleinodien will ich
Euch zwei - bis dreimal hundert Taler wert zu
Reisekosten geben, was sonst noch dazu erforderlich
ist, ist notdürftig vorhanden, was aber die
Reisegesellschaft betrifft, so müssen wir deshalb
noch genauere Abrede nehmen, denn mit meinem Willen
soll keines meiner Kinder einen Fuss auf europäis-
chen Boden setzen.'²¹

So far, intrigue has been shown at two levels. Firstly, there was the active intrigue of Lemelie against the others; secondly, there was the fear of intrigue and the resulting spiritual conflict whenever contact was made by the others with the outside world. There now appears a third level of intrigue in the novel, and, emerging in all its blackness, it makes the islanders' fears all the more understandable.²²

In the stories of the later immigrants to the Felsenburg we see at once that in their society the virtuous are constantly opposed by the wicked.²³ This theme had already found expression in the conflict between Lemelie and Albert, and it is now seen to be an important motif of the novel. By examining the stories of the later immigrants, we fully realize why Albert is unwilling to let his children set foot in Europe.

The later immigrants, from Judith von Manders to Peter Morgenthal, all experience intrigue in one form or another. With the possible exception of Krätzer,²⁴ they appear as honest, social, self-sacrificing and helpful citizens forced to experience the dealings of the dishonest, anti-social, egoistic and utilitarian blackguards. In their stories, set in Europe, all the devices of intrigue are at work, and therefore the island is an immediate moral sanctuary for them, whereas for Concordia, and particularly for Albert, it was at first an exile.

As Brüggemann says, the motive of all action in the world of intrigue is utilitarian.²⁵ In all the affairs everything is weighed up and the most expedient or profitable method is chosen, regardless of who should suffer. Honesty counts as nothing; one needs to be clever.²⁶ One must be scheming and cunning, and above all be without moral scruples. This is especially true in the case of Juliane and Peterson.

By taking advantage of Juliane's father's precarious financial position, Peterson forces him to give his consent to a marriage with her. We have here a typical example of the corruption of the rich, but Peterson's intrigues are ruined by the return of Eberhard, who pays his father's debt with some of the Felsenburg wealth. In an earlier instance, however, the world of intrigue is paid out in its own coin. Concordia's father, doubtless with a view to financial advantage, had promised his daughter during her infancy to the son of a rich money-changer. To complicate matters, van Leuven is threatened with disinheritance if he continues his indecorous love-affair with a common merchant-daughter.²⁷ Wealth and power mean nothing to him and he enlists the aid of Albert in order to draw attention from himself, so that he may successfully elope with Concordia to Ceylon. The plan succeeds at first, but

after suffering shipwreck, they are washed up on the Felsenburg. We see, however, that van Leuven has successfully used the device of intrigue in order to overcome the utilitarianism of the political world.²⁸ In this case, intrigue does not appear spontaneously, but is more of a reaction, and indeed the only possible solution for the couple's virtuous ideals.

Honest citizens must also suffer in clandestine love-affairs. Albert's foster-mother threatens to knife him because he helped her husband to discover her adultery.²⁹ Plager, suffering from a headache and lying on his bed, is interrupted from his rest by his faithless wife and her lover. Unable to contain his fury, he kills his rival with a hunting-knife and is forced to flee.³⁰ Kramer, returning to his fiancée on army-leave, discovers that she is expecting another man's child. Resisting the offers of bribes, he claims his travelling costs and the price of various presents and departs.³¹ Harkert experiences a similar misfortune when his fiancée gives birth to the son of a departed student.³²

The idea of egoistic utility not only leads to insincerity and deceit in love-affairs, it also completely negates social responsibility.³³ Kramer is cheated of his inheritance;³⁴ Virgilie von Cattmer is thrown into prison and falsely accused of infanticide;³⁵ Morgenthal is

deserted by his parents and left to fend for himself.³⁶

In all the stories we see how great a part personal gain plays in determining the action. The bribery episodes in Schmeltzer's story; the robber-band for whom Morgenthal made keys; the crooked alchemists who deceived Plager - all show how people have only their own interests at heart. Both the key-making and the alchemy intrigues are on a much broader scale than the other surreptitious affairs. More people are involved, and more people fall victim to them. Morgenthal is unwittingly trained to be the future key-maker for a whole string of robberies. His master is the head of an international band of thieves and goes under several names. Plager is not only deceived and robbed by the charlatans Elias and Elisäus, but sees them continuing their evil ways in another town. Personal interest is the decisive factor in all these intrigues, with the result that cold, rational thinking precedes vicious and ruthlessly practical acts.

The anti-social and unscrupulous nature of the political world makes us aware of the utter contrast between this and the more sentimental feeling of social responsibility which is present on the island. As Lamport states, in Schnabel's novel one is either good or bad,³⁷ and even Krätzer, who had led a very violent life, is ultimately classed as good. In the world of intrigue, however, the

good are unable to survive. In this way, Charlotte, the beloved of Litzberg, is possibly the most tragic figure of the novel.

Although Schmeltzer on one occasion complains that in the whole of Germany he experiences nothing but misfortune and hostility,³⁸ it is the tragedy of Charlotte that disturbs us most of all. Her tragic error lies in the fact that she is more faithful and honest than politically adept. The love between her and Litzberg is endangered by her brother August and her would-be husband Ferdinand. She is abducted and taken off to distant relatives, and Litzberg's name is slandered. After discovering her whereabouts and exchanging letters with her, Litzberg is dismayed to hear that Charlotte has been forced to consent to marry a certain nobleman, von P.. The only means of avoiding this is for Litzberg to rescue her. Charlotte is brought safely over the border, and Litzberg returns to clear his name. His pleas are not answered, he is slandered yet again, becomes involved in a duel with August and Ferdinand, wounds the former and kills the latter. Returning to Charlotte's place of refuge, he is again dismayed, this time to discover that von V.. has sent von P.. to carry off Charlotte to wherever he pleases. Overtaking the coach in which Charlotte is travelling, Litzberg

becomes involved in a pistol-fight with von P.. and mortally wounds him. With his last remaining strength, however, von P.. shoots Charlotte. As she is dying, she reaffirms her faithful love for Litzberg and departs from the world. Thus, her fidelity has been the cause of her persecution and it eventually leads to her death. In the clutches of intrigue she was basically powerless, for the political world does not recognize the virtues of loyalty and honesty. The virtuous must then withdraw from it in order to establish a society where their ideals will be upheld.

The predicament of Julianne is similar to that of Charlotte, in that she too is defenceless against the political adeptness of her antagonist. Where lies and deception fail, however, force takes over.³⁹ This had already occurred to a great extent in the tragedy of Charlotte, but force is used more directly in the story of Judith von Manders. Rejecting proposals of marriage, she and her sister, Philippine, are kidnapped by their would-be husbands. Involved in the plot are her brother, William, and a rake known as Henry de Frontignan. While aboard a ship belonging to one of William's friends, the sisters suddenly discover that far from lying alongside the shore they are sailing on the high seas. They are saved from

the base desires of their lovers, however, by another group of people on the ship. After fighting off Moorish pirates and withstanding hunger and scurvy, Judith and her rescuers finally arrive on the island (see p. 35).

In attempting to protect themselves and their honour in the world of intrigue, the virtuous are often involved in struggles against their will.⁴⁰ Kramer, because of the bond between him and Eleonore, becomes involved with a band of cowardly ruffians known as "die heroische Brüderschaft." Provoked into a fight, he half-kills one of them and is arrested. The significance of such acts is, as Brüggemenn states, "dass man sich durch sie die Verfolgung der Obrigkeit zuzieht and darum landflüchtig werden und schleunigst über die Grenze zu kommen sehen muss."⁴¹ In this way Plager, Kramer, Herrlich and Krätzer all become refugees, and Litzberg "muss schliesslich die sächsischen, brandenburgischen, anhaltischen und angrenzenden Länder meiden, ja lieber sein Glück ganz ausserhalb des römischen Reiches suchen."⁴²

Thus the longing of the virtuous is a longing for spiritual peace, which is to be found only at Felsenburg. For them the island is a refuge from the intrigues of the political world.

Island life is also without class-distinctions. Van Leuven and Rawkin, both noblemen, are merely part of a happy

bourgeois community. There is no aristocratic intrigue, such as that which enveloped Charlotte and Litzberg. Charlotte, incidentally, was well aware of the vice and ruthlessness of the ruling-classes, and her words against them mark one of the few instances of direct social criticism in the novel:

Der adelige Stand ist mir ein Greuel, wofern derselbe nicht die Helmdecken der Tugend und der Artigkeit im Wappen und im ganzen Wesen aufzuweisen hat; dagegen ist mir ein Bürgerlicher, den beide Eigenschaften zieren, in meinen Augen des höchsten Adels würdig, ja noch weit höher zu schätzen.⁴³

On the island, the earliest virtues are loyalty and chastity. As mentioned before (p. 34), the latter is Concordia's highest treasure. We see it as the main weapon against the intrigues of Lemelie, and after Lemelie's death she begs it of Albert. Elsewhere, however, other virtues are introduced in the struggle against intrigue. Steadfastness, honesty and sincerity are especially emphasized.⁴⁴ To these may be added moderation, industry, personal sacrifice and the idea of social responsibility, and the island morality is complete.⁴⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that morality on the island is primarily defined as a state. Both Röttken and Lamport seem to indicate this, but Lamport goes on to say that "none of Schnabel's characters develop morally, if at all."⁴⁶ Thus they are all endowed with the same virtues and seem to possess the same innate code of morality. In the figure of Krätzer, however, we find a notable exception.

The most striking thing about the island community is that its members no longer stand alone. Everyone helps everybody else and everyone is happy in the island's communal friendship. No longer is the honest individual faced by evil, as Albert was with Lemelie, or Plager with the alchemists, or Schmeltzer with the Jesuits. The islanders all participate in a strictly ethical society where their moral ideals form part of the way of life. Free of political intrigue, estranged from egoistic-utilitarian principles, the Felsenburg community may flourish in a setting which, when compared with the kind of society depicted in the stories of the later immigrants, can only be termed utopian.

(iv) Pietism and Sentimentalism⁴⁷

Karl Schröder, in his dissertation J.G. Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg, sees the influence of pietism in the biblical words of Albert spoken at the end of Krätzer's story.⁴⁸ There is without doubt a very strong religious feeling throughout the novel, and this feeling is closely connected with the island morality. There is a great deal of praying, hymn-singing and bible-reading, and on many occasions the islanders seem to have a direct experience of God. When faced with a crisis, they may do all they possibly can themselves, but they are ultimately aware of God's presence. Concordia, for example, is stricken with an

illness, when she suddenly awakes, and comforts her husband with the words: "'Weinet nicht, mein Geliebter; denn ich befinde mich jetzt weit besser, und Gott wird weiterhelfen.'"⁴⁹

One may see the influence of pietism in the uncommon interest the islanders take in each other. It is by no means true that they have to band together in order to survive, for there is no danger on the island (except in the case of Lemelie), and it is abundantly supplied with game, fruit, fish and fresh water. By fraternizing with each other, however, they make life warm and comfortable, and collectively they are obviously better equipped to deal with tragedies such as that which befalls Concordia. There is, as already indicated, a feeling of social responsibility on the island, but Brüggemann's claim that it has its roots in the virtues of characters faced by a disaster, rather than in the disaster itself, is not wholly true. He says, for example: "So begründet Albert ein heftiges Mitleid mit Concordias unglücklichem Verhängnis, als diese durch Lemelies Geständnis erst von der meuchlerischen Ermordung ihres Gatten Kenntnis erhält, nicht durch die Tatsache selber, sondern, wegen ihrer besonderen Gottesfurcht und anderer Tugenden."⁵⁰ There is no mention of personal virtue, however, when Schimmer assures Judith and Philippine of his help against the lustful desires of their lovers. It is far more the thought of Judith's impending shame which prompts him to offer his services.

German eighteenth-century sentimentalism had its roots in pietism, and if the religious feeling is strong in Schnabel's novel, then the feeling of sentimentality is intrinsic to it. Life on the island is, above all, sentimental, and tears are not only shed in sorrow, but also in joy. One also has the feeling that the tears are genuine and not mere affectation, and it is as if Schnabel really understands the tender dispositions of the characters.⁵¹ In the early days on the island tears are very frequent. When Concordia asks for her husband during her illness, he kneels down and kisses her "mit weinenden Augen".⁵² When Van Leuven is missing, Concordia's recollection of a warning dream is accompanied "von einer heftigen Tränenflut."⁵³ The scene in which Concordia is confronted with her husband's body is also a very touching episode:

Durch viele Bitten und vernünftige Vorstellungen erhielt ich (Albert) endlich von ihr so viel, dass sie nichts weiter als ihres seligen Ehemannes Gesicht und die Hand, woran er noch seinen Siegelring stecken hatte, zu sehen begehrte. Sie wusch beides mehr mit Tränen als mit Wasser aus dem vorbeistreichenden Bächlein ab und küsste ihn, ungeachtet des üblen Aussehens und Geruchs, unzählige Male, zog den Ring von seinem Finger, und liess endlich unter heftigen Jammerklagen geschehen, dass ich den Körper wieder einwickelte und auf die vorige Art umwand.⁵⁴

With Concordia, tears take the place of anger and indignation. Instead of feeling annoyed at Lemelie's infamous proposal, she "vergoss indes die bittersten Tränen, schlug die Hände über dem Kopf zusammen und rief: '... O

Himmel, erbarme dich!'" Her emotion so moves Albert that he "hätte vor Jammer fast mitgeweint." In turn, Concordia is so moved by Albert's chaste words, that from her eyes pours "ein neuer Tränenstrom."⁵⁵

Happy tears are no less common. Captain Wolfgang's eyes are wet with happiness at the reunion of Eberhard and Schmeltzer, and again, when Schmeltzer views the beauty of the island, he weeps tears of joy.⁵⁶ Concordia weeps "die heissesten Tränen" partly out of grief, partly for joy, when Albert brings food for her child.⁵⁷ At the ceremonial engagement of Hülter and Concordia, "weinten alle vor Freuden."⁵⁸ Eberhard's father weeps for joy at Cordula's friendly greeting.⁵⁹

Parting and arriving are further occasions for displays of tears and tenderness. When Eberhard returns to the island, he is embraced by Albert "unter vielen Tränen," and is himself unable to speak because of his happiness.⁶⁰ When Albert comes back from an exploration and hunting expedition, he is immediately embraced and kissed by van Leuven.⁶¹ Nothing pleases Eberhard more than that "Cordula und [seine] Schwester in so kurzer Zeit einander dergestalt lieb gewonnen hatten, dass sie sich nicht aus den Armen lassen und einander nicht satt küssen konnten."⁶²

Sentimental elements also take control at moments of crisis.⁶³ Lemelie, taking aim at a bird, points his musket

in van Leuven's direction and causes no little fear in him. Lemelie, although tempted to shoot, convinces van Leuven that this was never his intention, and van Leuven embraces and kisses him, assuring him of his loyal friendship. Thus assured, Lemelie lures van Leuven to the highest cliff and pushes him to his death.

Although van Leuven is a direct victim of Lemelie's intrigue, he is an ultimate victim of his own sentimental nature which had led him to trust the villain. In this one instance the weakness of the sentimental hero is exposed, and in the light of eighteenth-century rationalism his shortcomings are plain.

We see the traces of further sentimental elements in Concordia's bashful letter to Albert, and the tender meeting of the two by the stream. The whole event is of such pure feeling that we cannot help being moved by it. Albert's words almost bring a lump to our throats: "Ich nahm hierauf ihre Hand, küsste und schloss dieselbe zwischen meine beiden Hände, konnte aber vor innerem Seelenvergnügen kaum so viele Worte vorbringen, als nötig waren, um sie meiner ewig wählenden Liebe zu versichern und zugleich mich ihr gänzlich zu eigen zu geben."⁶⁴

We are almost moved by Albert's display of human feeling after his lament on the cliff-top. His words become choked with tears, at which little Concordia begins to weep bitterly. He presses her to his breast, kisses her and stands up.⁶⁵

Thus we find in Die Insel Felsenburg the early traces of the sentimental phenomenon which in the 1740's became known in Germany as "Empfindsamkeit." We are aware of a depth of feeling unknown in the works of Weise and Reuter, and furthermore, it is out of this depth of feeling that new social-moral values are born. After pietism had brought people together, sentiment took over, and this is exactly the kind of process we see in Schnabel's novel. It is out of the sentimental nature of the islanders that the feeling of social responsibility arises. In some instances it leads to disaster, as in the case of van Leuven, but if it is shared by everyone, then the community must ultimately be happy. In a sense then, we can speak of a sentimental morality, and, as will be seen, it is really this same moral code that permeates the final novel to be discussed in this thesis, Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin.

(v) Providence and "Gelassenheit"

Not only are the islanders blessed with a paradisaic island possessing all they need to keep them alive, they are also aided on many occasions by a benevolent providence which supplies them with everything they need for a civilised community. Thus, as Lamport says, the element missing from Schnabel's novel, which distinguishes it from earlier works, is "the 'Robinsonesque' element proper; the solution

of the basic technical problems of desert island life."⁶⁶

Providence can be said to intervene on several occasions. After the first shipwreck on the island, the castaways are supplied with food from the shattered vessel. Just as these supplies are about to run out, however, Albert, "in der Hoffnung, etwas Neues und Gutes anzutreffen", climbs a cliff and sees a beach littered with seals.⁶⁷ When Concordia is feverish and badly needs fresh water, Albert wades over to the ship and happens to find to his great joy "ein zugedicktes Fass mit süßem Wasser."⁶⁸ Aware of the incest problem, the islanders are building a boat in which to sail away and bring back husbands and wives, when a ship, running aground off the island, ultimately brings an end to their worries.⁶⁹ It is also more than mere chance when Albert falls into Don Cyrillo's grotto and finds much pioneering information. When both Albert and Concordia are sick, it is Don Cyrillo who appears to Albert in a dream and reminds him of his medical instructions. To Concordia, seeing further than Albert, "dies ist gewiss kein blosser Traum, sondern unfehlbar ein göttliches Gesicht."⁷⁰

Accidents are also the result of providential intervention. Concordia, despairing over her missing husband, tries to accept the fact as it is, "indem ja doch ohne Gottes Willen kein Unglück begegnen könne."⁷¹ In fact,

as Albert well realizes, it is of no avail to struggle against fate, whether spiritually or physically; one must reconcile oneself to it and do one's best under the circumstances. Only by managing this may one invoke providential aid. When the castaways are almost out of food, van Leuven sits "stets in tiefen Gedanken." Albert, on the other hand, is more active:

Zwar sah ich wohl, dass die guten Leute auf diese Weise nichts ausrichten würden. ... Um indes nicht so verdüstert bei ihnen sitzen zu bleiben, kletterte ich an den Felsen, so hoch ich nur konnte, empor, in der Hoffnung, etwas Neues und Gutes anzutreffen. Und diese Hoffnung betrog mich nicht. Als ich nämlich eine ziemlich hohe Klippe ... erklettert hatte, erblickte ich jenseits des Flusses ... auf dem Sande viele Tiere... 72

Another example presents itself after Lemelie's final speech, when Albert and Concordia are spending the rest of the day "mit Seufzen, Weinen und Klagen." The active spirit within Albert prompts him to abandon this attitude and to face up to things by accepting them as they are and as they will be:

Endlich, als mir einfiel, dass wir durch unsere unmässige Betrübniß unser Schicksal nicht verbessern, das höchste Wesen aber dadurch noch mehr zum Zorne reizen könnten, suchte ich Concordien sowohl als mich selbst zur Geduld zu bewegen, und dies gelang mir auch insoweit, dass wir einander zusagten, alle unsere Bekümmernis dem Himmel anheimzustellen und mit täglichem fleissigem Gebet und in Gelassenheit zu erwarten, was derselbe ferner über uns verhängen werde. 73

The idea of "Gelassenheit," that calm, deliberate acceptance of one's lot, is a theme that achieved great significance in later literature. Traces of it are present in Schnabel's novel, as has just been seen, and it was taken up by Richardson in his novel Pamela. In Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin, it finally became incorporated into the bourgeois moral code.

It seems that the idea of "Gelassenheit" appears only in those novels where the bourgeois society has already been established, or where bourgeois men and women are more active than passive. In the works of Weise and Reuter, where the bourgeois society was in the process of construction, "Gelassenheit" does not occur at all. With the establishment of a bourgeois morality as at Felsenburg, however, it begins to emerge, together with its closely associated neighbour, Providence. Yet with Gellert, Providence is completely overshadowed by "Gelassenheit," and one might thus be tempted to suggest, perhaps, somewhat naively, that with Schnabel, German bourgeois society, founded as it was on a desert island and not yet prepared for development closer to home, still needed a little encouragement from above in order to set it in motion.

(vi) The woman as a positive agent

Weise and Reuter, in preparing the ground for the bourgeois development, were more concerned with the class

itself than with the individual. Whereas this is of course true with Schnabel, it should also be remembered that the first conflict of his novel is between Lemelie and Concordia; in other words, between masculine unscrupulousness and feminine virtue.⁷⁴ As we have seen, Concordia's main defence against Lemelie is her chastity, and her only disadvantage is her lack of physical strength.⁷⁵ With Albert's help, however, she is able to preserve her virtue.

What we really admire Concordia for, is her ability to adapt to island life as a widow. During the period after recovering from the shock of her husband's murder until her second marriage, it is she who is the real hero of the novel. For her, the island has become complete, and although we may surmise, we never actually hear of any further spiritual conflict within her. Albert, however, experiences no peace at all and his spiritual conflict reaches its crisis in his lamentation on the cliff-top. Whereas Concordia has already incorporated the idea of "Gelassenheit" into her way of thinking, for Albert this is as yet impossible, although he originally introduced and advocated it.

We may see then that Concordia is not playing such a passive role in the action as might be expected. She certainly does not direct operations; she is by no means depicted as an Amazon, but she nevertheless is playing a positive role here and is not a mere puppet. With her

marriage to Albert the situation disappears, and she acknowledges herself as "ein schwaches Wesen."⁷⁶ Her former behaviour, however, within the period mentioned, would seem to refute such low self-estimation.

In Pamela Richardson increases the significance of the woman immensely.⁷⁷ In Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G. . it is the countess herself who narrates the story. In Die Insel Felsenburg bourgeois femininity makes its first stirrings.

(vii) Conclusions

Brüggemann, discussing in great detail the various kinds of Utopia, concludes that Schnabel's novel has definite leanings towards the anarchistic type.⁷⁸ An anarchistic Utopia is one in which "ein Gesellschaftsideal der absoluten persönlichen Freiheit vertreten wird, jeder Zwang, jede Art der Herrschaft, die Regierung, die Polizei, die strafende Gewalt verworfen und damit der Staat als der Träger aller Gewalten negiert wird."⁷⁹

For the later immigrants the Felsenburg is also a Utopia of escape, but unlike Lamport, Brüggemann fails to notice that it is too a Utopia of reconstruction.⁸⁰ In the beginning, everything needed by the castaways is supplied by Providence. But as the island society develops, outside help and materials are required. The island in its later phase is thus no longer a complete Utopia of escape, but rather a Utopia undergoing development and reconstruction.

Schnabel's novel does, however, signify a major breakthrough from the early strivings of Weise and Reuter

to establish a bourgeois social ideal. A bourgeois society is founded, and although it is set up on a desert island cut off, and thus protected, from the absolutistic world, its members are typical eighteenth-century bourgeois citizens. It is therefore quite correct to maintain that in Die Insel Felsenburg there is a synthesis of ideal utopianism and German domestic life, as Becker seems to suggest.⁸¹

Die Insel Felsenburg is a story about the development of a bourgeois ideal community from its very beginnings. As founders of their own ideal state, the islanders may not only set up their own social institutions, they may also introduce their own moral code. This they do, and from this time on morality seems to come increasingly to the fore in German literature. Weise and Reuter had laid the emphasis on social ideals and not on moral ones, but with Schnabel these two ideals coalesce with a slight moral bias.⁸² In Richardson's Pamela this bias is given greatly added weight, so that we speak of a bourgeois morality and not of a bourgeois society, when referring to the novel. Finally, Richardson's moral emphasis persuaded Gellert to write his Schwedische Gräfin, in which society as a term disappears in the overall implications of morality.

We can now see that a transition has been made between two complementary bourgeois ideals. Although one cannot exist without the other, there is a shift in significance between the two. In Schnabel's novel, however, they appear

to have almost equal significance, and we may conclude from this that Die Insel Felsenburg is a most important novel in the emergence and development of the bourgeois class, not only because in it a bourgeois society is established for the first time, but also because it clearly shows the establishment within the society of a bourgeois moral code, which was later to characterize a good deal of the literature of eighteenth-century Germany.

Footnotes

- 1 H. Mayer, Studien zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 2nd ed, Neue Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft, II (Berlin, 1955), p. 11.
- 2 ibid., 27.
- 3 F.K. Becker, Die Romane J.G. Schnabels (diss. Bonn, 1911), p. 7.
- 4 J.G. Schnabel, Die Insel Felsenburg, ed. M. Greiner (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 111. All subsequent references will be to I.F.
- 5 I.F., p. 119.
- 6 Becker, p. 37.
- 7 F. Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade: Untersuchungen zu Schnabels Insel Felsenburg (1731-1743), Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, XLVI (Weimar, 1914), p. 22. All subsequent references will be to Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade.
- 8 I.F., p. 131.
- 9 ibid., p. 189.
- 10 ibid., p. 194.
- 11 ibid., p. 197. Brüggemann regards all such telling as a form of entry test to the island society. See Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade, p. 42.
- 12 I.F., p. 198.
- 13 ibid., p. 288.
- 14 ibid., p. 204.
- 15 ibid., p. 131 (see above, note 9).
- 16 ibid., pp. 205-206.
- 17 ibid., p. 212.
- 18 ibid.
- 19 Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade, p. 40. Brüggemann also observes (p. 34) that Albert, even reading Concordia's letter, does not trust her completely, but rather thinks she is trying to tempt him.

- 20 I.F., p. 662.
- 21 ibid., p. 288.
- 22 Thus when Horn arrives, his crew are left on the smaller island and are not allowed into the Felsenburg community. See I.F., pp. 698-699.
- 23 Becker seems to imply (p. 39) that this is one of Schnabel's favourite literary themes.
- 24 Krätzer later repents of his earlier life of debauchery.
- 25 Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade, p. 62.
- 26 ibid., 63.
- 27 I.F., p. 101.
- 28 "Political" is used here to indicate the world of intrigue. It has nothing to do with Christian Weise's use of the word.
- 29 I.F., p. 91.
- 30 ibid., pp. 508-510.
- 31 ibid., p. 444.
- 32 ibid., pp. 605-606.
- 33 Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade, pp. 71-72.
- 34 I.F., p. 406.
- 35 ibid., pp. 269-270.
- 36 ibid., p. 613.
- 37 F.J. Lamport, "Utopia und 'Robinsonade': Schnabel's Insel Felsenburg and Bachstrom's Land der Inquiraner," Oxford German Studies, ed. T.J. Reed (Oxford, 1966), I, 27. Hereafter referred to as Lamport.
- 38 I.F., p. 450.
- 39 This is exactly the case of Lemelie.
- 40 Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade, p. 80.
- 41 ibid., p. 81.

- 42 *ibid.*
- 43 I.F., pp. 366-367.
- 44 For an interesting analysis of sincerity see Lamport, p. 13.
- 45 Examples of personal sacrifice are Albert helping Concordia against Lemelie; Schimmer, Larson and Rawkin aiding Judith and Philippine; and Litzberg rescuing Charlotte.
- 46 Lamport, p. 27 and H. Röttken, "Weltflucht und Idylle in Deutschland von 1720 bis zur Insel Felsenburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Gefühlslebens," ZVL(ns), IX (1896), 20.
- 47 For a fuller discussion of pietism see chapter three.
- 48 K. Schröder, J.G. Schnabels "Insel Felsenburg" (diss. Marburg, 1912), pp. 42-43.
- 49 I.F., p. 114.
- 50 Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade, p. 26. The reference to Schnabel is from the following edition: J.G. Schnabel, Die Insel Felsenburg, ed. H. Ullrich, Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1902), I.
- 51 Röttken, p. 29. Röttken also supplies a list of "tear-occasions" (pp. 29-30).
- 52 I.F., p. 114.
- 53 *ibid.*, p. 155.
- 54 *ibid.*, p. 159.
- 55 *ibid.*, pp. 131-132.
- 56 *ibid.*, p. 25 and p. 81.
- 57 *ibid.*, p. 176.
- 58 *ibid.*, p. 211.
- 59 *ibid.*, p. 704.
- 60 *ibid.*, p. 697.
- 61 *ibid.*, p. 127.

- 62 *ibid.*, p. 705.
- 63 Brüggenmann, Utopie und Robinsonade, p. 30.
- 64 I.F., p. 201.
- 65 *ibid.*, p. 196.
- 66 Lamport, p. 18.
- 67 I.F., p. 121.
- 68 *ibid.*, p. 113.
- 69 *ibid.*, p. 212.
- 70 *ibid.*, p. 178.
- 71 *ibid.*, p. 157.
- 72 *ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
- 73 *ibid.*, p. 169.
- 74 This, of course, is not the first time that such a conflict occurs in German literature. The baroque courtly novels, for example, find frequent use for it.
- 75 In Richardson's Pamela (see chapter three) the heroine's physical weakness is not as significant, as her antagonist is nowhere near as ruthless as Concordia's.
- 76 I.F., p. 201.
- 77 See chapter three, pp. 82-85.
- 78 Brüggenmann, Utopie und Robinsonade, pp. 5-11. Steffen disputes this. See H. Steffen, "J.G. Schnabels Insel Felsenburg und ihre formengeschichtliche Einordnung," GRM(ns), XI (1961), 56.
- 79 Brüggenmann, Utopie und Robinsonade, pp. 7-8.
- 80 cf. Lamport, p. 25.
- 81 Becker, op. cit. (above, note 3), p. 33.
- 82 Steffen informs us (p. 61) that the moral values of the islanders are not actually new, thus refuting Brüggenmann's claim.

CHAPTER THREE

Sentimentalism, Morality and the Richardsonian novel.

(i) The pietistic origins of Sentimentalism

Seventeenth-century Germany had been shattered and devastated by the Thirty Years War, and there were many people, particularly in the non-Catholic areas, who must have experienced great disillusionment about the meaning of existence. Turning to the Church for spiritual comfort, they remained disappointed, and feeling themselves betrayed, they began to complain and criticize. They felt the Church was hypocritical and inefficient and failed to indicate a way out of the suffering around it. Because the Church could not offer comfort, people began to seek spiritual peace by themselves. An attempt was made to restore the peace of mind that the Church once offered, but it did not necessarily signify the straightforward restoration of orthodox Protestantism, for people wanted their own personal sense of piety, which transcended and in some cases even rejected the positive religious systems.

A very important figure in the rise of this new movement was Jakob Spener (1635-1705), whose sermons were the foundation for the establishment of the "Collegia Pietatis" at Frankfurt in 1670. In 1675, when Spener's

Pia Desideria appeared, the movement was furnished with a text-book containing both criticism of the Church and an outline of what pietism signified. It stated, for example, that a pulpit was not a place for the flowery phrases of an orator, and that prayer, while being simple, should also be forceful. More important, it spoke of an inner being in man through whom all communication with God should pass. External actions and form (the ceremony of the Church) were condemned as hypocritical, as they no longer afforded spiritual comfort, and Spener underlined his belief with decisive conviction:

... Dass es nicht genug seye/äusserlich mit dem munde zu beten/sondern/dass das rechte und vornehmste gebet in unserm innerlichen menschen geschehe/.../und doch daselbst Gott finde und antreffe: Dass es nicht gnug seye/Gott seinen dienst in dem äusserlichen tempel zu leisten/sondern/dass unser innerliche mensch den vornehmsten dienst Gott in seinem eigenen tempel/er seye jetzt|| in dem äusserlichen oder nicht/leisten müsse: 1

A significant factor in the rise of pietism was the attraction it held for people of all classes. The society at Frankfurt had first brought them together, and as the movement flourished, the communal feeling spread. Anybody suffering spiritual anguish, anybody with a troubled mind could meet and discuss his problems and longings. All sought the Divine and all were bound by a personal religiosity based on inner feeling. If anybody thought he had attained spiritual communion with God,

the experience was immediately related to the others. This aroused among the latter the desire for similar comfort, and in this way the meetings became opportunities for people to pour out their hearts in the hope of future spiritual contentment. Fritz Stemme sums these points up and concludes that pietism not only encouraged communal spiritual improvement, but also furthered the individual's knowledge of himself:

Die Pietisten erbauen sich durch ihre Schriften gegenseitig, um immer erneut von Gnadenakten Gottes zu erfahren, sei es bei sich selbst oder an anderen. Daraus ergibt sich auch, dass die pietistische Biographie ihrer Struktur nach vor allem von zwei Zwecken geleitet wird: Selbsterkenntnis und Erbauung.²

Because feeling was fundamental to the pietists, their movement represented the greatest trend against the Wolff-Gottschedian rationalism of the Enlightenment, although as yet there was no open conflict. In fact, the two movements had much in common. Both looked to the future with optimism; both preached the practice of "Toleranz"; both shook the foundations of the old absolutistic order, and both rejected to a certain extent the orthodox Church. The conflict, if indeed it may be termed as such, only came with the inevitable secularization of the religious movement.³ Pietism had exercised a profound influence on the feelings and emotions of the German people, and because of this it gradually became the receptacle for the emotional and sentimental elements that were being

pushed aside under the tyranny of reason. Within the religious movement such emotional elements could easily flourish and develop, and it was not long before non-religious sentiments and feelings made their presence felt. The careful cultivation of inner impulses intensified German life so much that it suddenly burst forth from its religious confines, and, incorporating other repressed spiritual elements, became the psychological phenomenon known as Sentimentalism.⁴

Like mysticism, pietism attempted to establish an immediate link between God and Man. It represented "ein tiefes Verlangen und heftiges Drängen nach gesteigerter Ursprünglichkeit und Unmittelbarkeit des seelisch-geistigen Lebens, ein ungeheurer Subjektivismus ..."⁵ As indicated previously, the original concept of inner experience made it destined to become a rival of Enlightenment, at that time the guiding light of German secular society, and the new notion of communal introspection not only caused the unleashing of pent-up human feeling, but it also brought about a fundamental refinement of psychological understanding.⁶ Against the cold, searching light of reason the power of feeling gushed forth in a flood, bringing with it warmth, beauty and charm, and from this time on the development of Sentimentalism kept in step with that of Enlightenment, later transcending it in Goethe's great novel Werther.

Both Sentimentalism and Enlightenment encouraged man to examine himself. The fundamental difference between them lay in the type of problems this examination presented, and the result was that the metaphysical problems confronting the rationalist were replaced by the psychological problems confronting the sentimentalist. Rivalry between the movements there was, but, as Schneider points out, although the one had its roots in emotionalism and the other in rationalism, heart and reason were not always mortal enemies.⁷

(ii) Further bourgeois developments

"Auf das Kleid kommt es nicht an, auf die äusseren Umstände überhaupt nicht, sondern die Menschen haben sich verändert in ihrem ganzen seelischen Habitus."⁸ In this way Fritz Brüggenmann sums up the social circumstances in Germany during the first half of the eighteenth century. The old culture of the previous age, which had attained its absolutistic peak at the court of Louis XIV, had set the trend for the German aristocracy for the next few following generations. In pietism, however, there arose a movement that contributed greatly to its eventual decline. The new religious feeling, preparing the way for sentimentalism, also provided the source for the new society which had already appeared in Die Insel Felsenburg, where it was based on feeling and mutual friendship. The old absolutistic order could no longer suppress the rising impetus

of the bourgeois class and its sentimental culture, for there was now a completely new understanding among men. People became more aware of themselves and new social values were born, giving rise to a bourgeois moral code. As at Felsenburg, happiness lay in moderation, not in external materialism, and peace of mind was afforded by seclusion, self-control, patience and resignation. The great ideals of the new ideology were loyalty, honesty and sincerity, and out of these arose that striking cult of friendship which runs right through Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin. Only upon such moral foundations could spiritual happiness be achieved. The English novelist Samuel Richardson showed this in the figure of Pamela Andrews, who, although constantly beset and harrassed by her overpassionate master, cannot be said to suffer from any spiritual conflict such as, for example, in Lessing's Emilia Galotti. But Pamela is nonetheless the weaker figure in her struggle, where her master wields the power, against which her only defence is her chastity. Brüggemann shrewdly points out that the new bourgeois champion was still at a great disadvantage and still had to endure the intrigues and persecution of political life.⁹ This had already been the case in Die Insel Felsenburg where Lemelie all but succeeded in carrying out his evil designs on Concordia. It occurs again in Pamela and later on

in Die schwedische Gräfin. Yet in all these works the honest ideals of the bourgeois morality are ultimately victorious, even though at times they seem about to be overwhelmed. The bourgeois class had not only broken the fetters of absolutism in society, it had also begun with increasing confidence to leave its mark on literature. In Schnabel's novel the new bourgeois world could only flourish in a remote setting. Fifteen years later Gellert was able to bring this world closer to home in his novel of the Swedish countess.

(iii) Moral improvement

A basic aim of German Enlightenment was moral refinement, and one of its most ardent advocates was the Leipzig literary dictator, Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766). Gottsched tried to improve morality through examples of virtue and human failing in the drama, which would have an instructive effect upon the audience. In other words, according to him, the drama should be wholly didactic, and the audience, by employing its reason, would thus be able to ascertain the various faults or qualities in the characters and react accordingly. Because of its greater opportunity for didacticism, the satirical comedy was more suited to Gottsched's purpose than the tragedy. With the satire he presumed that the audience had to laugh at, and not with the characters,

so that "laughter was to be an act of the brain: critical, destructive and hostile."¹⁰ To Gottsched such laughter "seemed wholly admirable, because of its deterrent effect on the audience."¹¹

In literature, however, the Gottschedian combination of morality and reason did not last very long. The only forms of writing in which it could really flourish were journals, moral lectures and, above all, satires. But, as Newald states, these forms were much less capable of furthering a spiritual movement than the genres in which personal sentiment could play a part; namely the novel, the drama or the lyric.¹² Although for these the bond of morality and reason was basically too dry and monotonous, morality combined with feeling and sentiment was far more suitable and left a much deeper impression. Consequently, moral refinement "erfolgte nicht mehr durch verstandesmäßige Erkenntnis allein, sondern durch das Einfühlen in das Seelenleben der Gestalten."¹³

For the establishment of the bourgeois morality the above-mentioned idea of personal sentiment was very important, and after Schnabel, it was the Richardsonian novel that heralded this feeling. Furthermore, the Richardsonian novel, by appealing directly to the emotions and not to the reason of its readers,¹⁴ was able to show that rational moralizing was a cold process.

Whereas the Gottschedian notion of moral improvement

with its accumulation of unnatural, exaggerated and purposely abhorrent episodes only permitted a superficial refinement, the Richardsonian idea, dismissing all portrayal of human folly as a strictly negative means of enlightenment, created an ideal moral harmony leading to a more fundamental motivation of moral improvement. The Richardsonian novel was so popular that even Gottsched was able to recommend it, in spite of the fact that its method of moralizing did not lie in rational observation, but in a thorough and sympathetic understanding of human sentiments.

(iv) Richardson's Pamela

Introduction

Samuel Richardson's Pamela or Virtue Rewarded appeared in 1740. It was a work which was taken up at once with immense enthusiasm, and numerous translations and adaptations were made.¹⁵ Richardson quickly established a European reputation and although his prestige was soon seriously challenged in England, on the Continent he reigned supreme. In Germany, particularly, he intoxicated the literary world and Pamela was placed at the top of the list of suitable books to be devoured by an admiring reading public.

Samuel Richardson was born in Derbyshire in 1698. His parents had at first intended their son for the church, but lacking the means for this, sent him, at the age of seventeen, to London where he was bound apprentice to a

printer. In this trade he rose to a considerable position by his industry and wit and even managed to marry his master's daughter. As Kearney states, he was "a model apprentice," and he also read avidly.¹⁶ Later, after setting up a business of his own, his appetite for reading brought him into contact with the bookselling world, and in 1739 he was commissioned to compile a volume of Familiar Letters for the benefit of country readers, to help them both in their correspondence and in life in general. Among the letters were to be included a number "to instruct handsome girls, who were obliged to go out to Service, ... how to avoid the snares that might be laid against their Virtue."¹⁷ Remembering a story he had heard long previously concerning a humble, yet pious servant-girl, who, after resisting her master's attempts to seduce her, eventually married him in all virtue, he decided to put aside the Familiar Letters and embark upon his first novel, Pamela or Virtue Rewarded.¹⁸

The work was an immediate success and Richardson became the centre of a circle of adoring women who "found in him a sage, a prophet, and a law-giver."¹⁹ He wrote two more novels before his death in 1761, Clarissa in 1748 and Sir Charles Grandison in 1754; but for the purpose of this thesis all discussion must be restricted to Pamela.

In life Richardson was essentially a moralist, and in trying to further religion and virtue, his novels can

be seen as a continuation of the Familiar Letters with which he had originally been commissioned.²⁰ But there is more to them than this, and in the following discussion of Pamela, it is hoped to show how the novel forms a significant link in the development of the bourgeois social-moral ideal between Schnabel and Gellert.

Sentiment and rationalism

Borcherdt describes Pamela as a "Seelenroman" in which external action is of no consequence whatsoever.²¹ Accordingly, inner analysis assumes all the more significance, but it is in the inner analysis that we find certain rational elements which by no means play an inferior role. By injecting elements of reason into Pamela's spiritual life, however, Richardson can be said to have arrived, among other things, at a more forceful portrayal of his main character.

In the figure of Pamela, Richardson created a story of a humble, yet virtuous maid plagued by an overbearing master. As an innocent country-girl Pamela has easy access to our hearts, but our experiences of her emotional life²² are mainly accomplished by the novel's epistolary form. This can of course be criticized as a highly improbable device which denies authenticity, but its great advantage is the insight it gives us into Pamela's character. It brings a new kind of involvement, for

Richardson is able to show with considerable ease even the innermost secrets of her heart. Her thoughts and sentiments are thus plain for all to see, for in writing her letters she is in fact laying bare her emotions:

Durch unzählige grössere und kleinere Handlungen, die ihre Menschengüte in schönsten Licht stellen, durch minutiöse Beschreibungen ihres inneren und äusseren Lebens, die an ihre tiefe Gottinnigkeit keinen Zweifel mehr aufkommen lassen, durch detaillierteste Ausmalung ihres Verhaltens im Kreise ihrer Familie und im gesamten Bereiche ihrer Wirksamkeit, entwirft Richardson ein so eindringliches, lebendiges und vor allem vollständiges Charakterbild, dass die Seele der Heldin einem offenen Buche gleicht. ²³

The attraction of this spiritual revelation for the sentimentalists in Germany is obvious, but one must be very careful in calling Pamela a wholly sentimental novel. Practically all her actions are governed by common sense, and furnished with this, together with the moral standards of the bourgeois class, she is constantly able to withstand the intrigues of her over-passionate master without breaking down. She also reacts in similar fashion to Mr. B.'s harsh housekeeper, Mrs. Jewkes.

Pamela's rational constitution can only be said to fail her on one occasion. This is after she attempts to escape from the Lincolnshire house and momentarily considers committing suicide by leaping into the garden pond. After her desperate efforts to become free have failed, it is not the fear of Mrs. Jewkes or Mr. B. that causes her the most danger, but she herself. Her own despair and

wretchedness almost tempt her to spring into the pond, and her hopeless appeal for guidance echoes the irrationality of her thoughts.²⁴ Fortunately, the extent of her injuries (she has fallen from the garden wall) prevents her from hurrying to the water, and by the time she does get there, she has had a minute or two to reason with herself. During such reflection the fear of God comes to the aid of her reason and the two eventually overcome her emotional lapse. Her rationally devout, puritanical nature expresses itself in her words:

'Tempt not God's goodness on the mossy banks,
that have been witness of thy guilty purpose; and
while thou hast power left thee, avoid the tempting
evil, lest thy grand enemy, now repulsed by
Divine Grace, and due reflection, return to the
assault with a force that thy weakness may not
be able to resist!'²⁵

In Pamela Richardson has succeeded extremely well in combining emotion with rationalism. In the age of Enlightenment the episode at the pond assumes all the more significance because it shows that reason is indeed vulnerable, for although Pamela does not succumb to her emotions, her rationality is nonetheless severely shaken.²⁶ Her overall behaviour, however, marks her as a stronger figure than any of the women in Die Insel Felsenburg. When she is opposed to B.'s intrigues, we seldom see her bursting out into tears, as Concordia often does.²⁷ Instead, she becomes indignant and all the more determined

to thwart her wretched adversary. The motif of melancholy bliss, which is employed so much by Schnabel, is entirely absent in Richardson's novel.

Pamela as a bourgeois novel

In the first decades of the eighteenth century the bourgeois class became the bearer of culture in Germany. Borchardt points out that this had been accomplished more rapidly in England than on the Continent.²⁸ Having achieved independent political status in 1688, the English bourgeoisie began to play a growing part in trade, and, increasing in confidence, it began to leave its mark on the science and literature of the age. Out of the latter arose the domestic tragedy and novel of the eighteenth century, which influenced the Continent so much. Of Richardson, the first great novelist of the period, Borchardt writes:

Mit ihm tritt eine neue Stoffwelt in Erscheinung. Nicht mehr phantastische Abenteuer oder eine erhabene Hofwelt voll märchenhaften Glanzes werden geschildert, sondern Geschehnisse aus der bürgerlichen Alltäglichkeit, die mit Freude am behaglichen Realismus ausgemalt werden; Familienangelegenheiten mit dem Hauptthema der Liebe, Geschichten mit ärmlicher Fabel, die in bewusster Beschränkung aufgebaut wird. Eine solche Stoffwelt entsprach den geistigen Bedürfnissen des aufkommenden Bürgerstandes.²⁹

With Richardson the new bourgeois hero is an innocent and humble country-girl who opposes the licentious designs of a pernicious aristocrat.

In Germany pietism had introduced a good deal of the aristocratic way of life to the sentiments of the bourgeois class. An aristocratic-bourgeois combination arises in Pamela, and although this is not to say that the religious movement prompted Richardson to write the novel, it is a feature he had in common with an important aspect of contemporary German life. L.L. Schücking's following comments about Clarissa may also be applied to Pamela:

Die Verschmelzung bürgerlicher Hausfrauenideale mit solchen der Gesellschaft zeigt sich ... darin, dass sie als 'dairy maid' harte Arbeit anpacken und sofort darauf als grosse Dame eine Gesellschaft bezaubern kann. ³⁰

We have, as examples from the text, firstly, Pamela's answer to B.'s question regarding her activities as his future wife:

'Then I will assist your housekeeper, as I used to do, in making jellies, comfits, sweetmeats, marmalades, and cordials; and to pot, candy, and preserve for the uses of the family; and to make myself all the fine linen of it for yourself and me.'³¹

Secondly, the first occasion on which Mr. and Mrs. Peters, Lady Jones and the Darnfords meet Pamela, when the Darnfords propose a tune on the spinet:

So they would make me play upon it, and sing to it; ... and the ladies were much taken with the song, and were so kind as to approve my performance: and Miss Darnford was pleased to compliment me, that I had all the accomplishments of my sex. ³²

Yet at a fundamental level, Pamela's character hardly changes throughout the novel. Even in the second part,

where she rises to complete power as B.'s wife, the combination of bourgeois and aristocratic elements is tilted heavily in favour of the former. All her sympathy, for example, lies with the maid Polly when she is set upon by Mr. H., even though Polly had done much to bring the trouble upon herself.³³ A better example presents itself, however, in what turns out to be a very trying episode for the young wife. She discovers that her husband has engaged the affections of a beautiful countess with whom he was preparing to live in Tonbridge. She is driven to discuss the matter with B. and, by her own choice, the interview takes the form of a trial, in which she herself is the accused. Throughout the whole scene we are reminded of the poor but honest country-girl of the first part of the novel, for instead of feeling indignant and angry, she humbles and demeans herself when commenting on B.'s relationship with her rival:

'Tis my misfortune, that she is too lovely,
and too attractive: and it is the less wonder,
that a fine young gentleman as you are, and a
fine young lady as she is, should engage one
another's affections.'³⁴

Maybe, however, it is the fear that her virtue might somehow be injured that makes her say this, for were her life to depend on it, she declares, she would not live with a gentleman, even as dear as Mr. B., who was living with another.³⁵ The outcome of the 'trial' is a happy one,

for B. realizes that he could only love Pamela, and his infatuation for the countess comes to an end.

Morris Golden is of the opinion that Pamela has very carefully planned the whole scene and the events leading up to it in order to win back her husband. According to him she acts a role "most consciously ... before an audience," and during the crisis mentioned "all the social world is aware and ... watching."³⁶ The latter may well be true, but it is by no means certain that Pamela had indeed deliberately planned her strategy. If she does in fact consciously play a part, it is surely not here, for as the peasant-girl she really is, she betrays genuine feelings of fear. Her basic worry of being below B.'s rank comes to the surface again, and it is this which prompts her to say the things and adopt the inferior attitude she does. Villain that B. once was, the social gap between him and his maid was still enormous, particularly in the eighteenth century. In fact, a marriage such as theirs would have been almost out of the question. But we do not fully realise this, as Richardson has successfully fused the bourgeois individual with the aristocratic order, even though the bourgeois element outweighs the latter. Schücking vindicates this combination as follows:

... er [Richardson] sucht, die Lebensanschauungen zweier verschiedener sozialer Sphären bewusst miteinander in Einklang zu bringen, aber räumt dabei der sittlich fortgeschrittenen des puritanischen Bürgertums den Vorrang ein.³⁷

As a bourgeois novel Pamela is extremely significant. For practically the first time the bourgeois hero challenges the aristocracy and comes out the better. Perhaps we are able to foresee this, for in spite of Brüggemann's point that the new bourgeois hero is still at a great disadvantage in any conflict with the ruling class, the novel's social criticism nevertheless shows the superiority of his point of view:

...; one may see how poor people are despised by the proud and rich! Yet we were all on a footing originally: and many of those gentry, who brag of their ancient blood, would be glad to have it as wholesome and as really untainted as ours! - Surely these proud people never think what a short stage life is; and that, with all their vanity, a time is coming, when they must submit to be on a level with us. The philosopher said true, when he looked upon the skull of a king, and that of a poor man, that he saw no difference between them. Besides, do they not know, that the richest of princes, and the poorest of beggars, are to have one great and tremendous Judge, at the last day; who will not distinguish between them, according to their circumstances in life; on the contrary, may make their condemnations the greater, as their neglected opportunities were greater! Poor souls! how do I pity their pride! - O keep me, heaven, from their high condition, if my mind shall ever be tainted with their vice, or polluted with so cruel and so inconsiderate a contempt of that humble estate they behold with so much scorn!³⁸

In writing this, Pamela becomes the mouthpiece of social justice. She is not attacking class-distinctions as such, for she herself, although fundamentally remaining bourgeois,

is able to become a member of the aristocracy. She is, however, criticizing the attitude and treatment administered to the lower classes by people whose morality is less intact.

Although sometimes forced to struggle to assert herself, Pamela fortunately does not appear as a martyr. In deep sincerity and in pious virtue she has two unconquerable allies, and her eventual happy outcome is proof of this. To cross the vast social gap and challenge B.'s supremacy would have almost been enough. To hold her own against him and eventually turn his heart is almost too much to expect. But Pamela succeeds, and with her triumph she becomes the guiding light of the forties not only in England, but also, and much more so, in Germany.

Morality

When he wrote Pamela, Richardson's main intention was "to cultivate Principles of Virtue and Religion..."³⁹ He succeeds in introducing this moral trend by making piety and virtue appear as the true beauties of life, and this ultimately solves the novel's social riddle when B. replaces the corrupt power of his high birth and rank with the honest goodness manifested in Pamela.⁴⁰ When he tried to improve moral standards, Richardson brought to light the ideals of the contemporary bourgeois culture. This already becomes apparent in the following words of

Pamela's parents after hearing of their daughter's first violent encounter with Mr. B.:

When we consider your past conduct, your virtuous education, and that you have been bred to be more ashamed of dishonesty than poverty, we trust in God, that he will enable you to overcome. ... I think you had better come home to share our poverty with safety, than live with so much discontent in a plenty that may be dangerous. ⁴¹

Pamela, herself, is convinced of this humble goodness:

'This my poor dear parents have always taught me: and I should be a sad wicked creature, if, for the sake of riches or favour, I should forfeit my good name; yea, and worse than any other young body of my sex; because I can so contentedly return to my poverty again, and think it is a less disgrace to be obliged to wear rags, and live upon rye-bread and water, as I used to do, than to be a harlot to the greatest man in the world.'⁴²

In these lines are summed up several facets of the bourgeois morality as recognized in Schnabel's novel. Honesty and sincerity, moderation and sobriety, piety and virtue all appear so obviously that they do not warrant further discussion. In Pamela the bourgeois classes had found another Bible.

Combined with reason, the bourgeois moral code keeps Pamela's mind free of any uneasy fears concerning the strength of her will to resist the amorous advances of her master. A comparison with Emilia Galotti has already been made (p. 67) and we see at once that, of the two heroines, Pamela is the stronger. Her difficulties are not lessened by the knowledge that, in spite of B.'s

wickedness, she cannot help loving him. However, she will still abide by her virtuous principles, and when she writes the following to her parents, we can easily believe her:

O my dear father and mother! I know you will be concerned for me; for now I am for myself. And now I begin to be afraid, I know too well the reason, why all his hard trials of me, and my black apprehensions, would not let me hate him.

But be assured still, by God's grace, that I shall do nothing unworthy of your Pamela; ... 43

Again, this speaks for itself. In conclusion it need only be said that in showing "the beauty and superiority of virtue in an unpolished mind," and in rendering "the character of the libertine contemptible,"⁴⁴ Richardson reminds us of Concordia and Albert's virtuous resistance to Lemelie's base intrigues.

The role of the woman

Schücking informs us that in seventeenth-century England there were few women able to read or write.⁴⁵ He even supplies a list of learned men, including Samuel Pepys and, from the eighteenth century, Dr. Johnson, who complained of the deplorable state of feminine education.⁴⁶ In the first decades of the eighteenth century, however, a slow change got underway, and women began to take more of an interest in broadening their outlook. This may well have happened in the wake of the very considerable general

growth in literacy, for, although since the Glorious Revolution of 1688 higher education had been stagnating, primary education was beginning to flourish.⁴⁷ The charity school movement provided a decent education for many lower class children, and as a result much more literature was now appearing. But this was not in the style of the seventeenth century. It consisted of "plainer writing and a simpler vocabulary within the range of the simply educated,"⁴⁸ and in Richardson's Pamela we find a sound example. This novel not only appealed to the simply educated in general, but also to the simply educated woman in particular. The moral weeklies had already recommended the pursuit of literature as a cure for female idleness,⁴⁹ and as this pursuit developed, a new feminine world was established. In this world Schücking sees the first signs of that peculiar synthesis of aristocratic bourgeois elements which Richardson personified in the figure of Pamela.⁵⁰

In eighteenth-century Germany the woman was totally subjected to the man. Christine Touaillon refers to the relationship as a sovereign authority, for the woman "feels born for the aims and desires" of her husband.⁵¹ It was most definitely a masculine world in which science, culture and politics were prohibited areas for the feminine mind. Yet protests were made by some women, and there were indeed a few who managed to escape the drudgery of

spinning, sewing, baking and cleaning.⁵²

Of great significance for the rise of the woman in Germany was the pietistic movement: "Aus dem Elend des 30jährigen Krieges geboren und durch die Reaktion gegen die Tyrannei der Theologie entstanden, bemächtigte er [Pietism] sich mit grösster Gewalt der Herzen aller Leidenden und Unbefriedigten und damit nicht zuletzt der Frauen."⁵³ For the first time women came into immediate contact with men and women of all classes, and were no longer confined to their own small circles. As women are more emotionally receptive and creative than men, the movement was bound to appeal to them, and their eager participation in it did much to improve their minds. By meeting new people, and, more important, people of higher or lower social rank, they developed a realistic attitude towards life which could only serve to increase their newly-found self-confidence. This confidence was possibly increased after 1740 when Richardson's Pamela was introduced to them. Still suffering from an age-old inferiority complex, they could see their own situation mirrored (in the first half of the book at least). All their secret desires and longings became apparent with breathtaking accuracy,⁵⁴ and one may almost imagine the emotional outbursts that the novel's happy outcome must have produced.

In choosing a woman as the bourgeois hero Richardson achieved two things. Firstly, he followed a trend of the times as shown by the increasing participation of women in pursuits of life; secondly, and more important, he added extra significance to a bourgeois triumph that was already decidedly important. The peculiar thing is, as Borchardt points out, that Richardson's heroine does not undergo any drastic change herself.⁵⁵ She remains fundamentally passive, with a few exceptions, throughout the whole novel, and, spiritually dependent upon her husband, she exists "ohne Fähigkeit und Wunsch zu geistiger Betätigung, tieferem Nachdenken oder gedanklicher Lektüre."⁵⁶ Her charm lies in "childish naïvety and helplessness" and she wins our hearts "through her frequent blushing and timidity."⁵⁷ But it was Pamela's more active traits that caused feminine admiration, and her virtuous resistance and the ability to adhere to principles not only increased the significance of the woman in society, but also in literature. From about this time on the literary hero no longer stands alone (although he still does, of course, occur more frequently), for beside him the literary heroine had appeared. In Germany, the first important representative of this new cult was the Countess von G... in Gellert's novel of 1747.

"Gelassenheit"⁵⁸

As a moralizing novel Pamela teaches "the fear of

God, humility, respect for parents, charity, duty and all the other essential virtues."⁵⁹ Like Die Insel Felsenburg it also contains the germ of an ideal that achieved perfection with Gellert. This is the already mentioned notion of "Gelassenheit."

In Pamela's very first letter we find the phrase, "Well, but God's will must be done!"⁶⁰ and it turns out to be one of the basic principles of her character. Convinced of the rightness of her virtue, Pamela may ultimately entrust herself to the Divine. In knowing that she has been true to herself, her conscience is clear, and she will abide by whatever Heaven ordains, in the unshaken belief that it is for the best. Even when sorely tempted to put an end to her misery at the pond, she wavers when this thought occurs to her, and she finally reproaches herself for committing an offence against God's will:

'Then,' thought I, 'who gave thee, presumptuous as thou art, a power over thy life? ... How knowest thou what purpose God may have to serve, by the trials with which thou art now exercised?'⁶¹

In Germany the belief in Divine providence was fast becoming a moral postulate of the bourgeois culture.⁶² It signified a moral code that excluded any intervention by man in the fate of others or himself. Die Insel Felsenburg and Pamela contain traces of this idea, but

as yet there is no positive independent code of morality based upon it. Such is not the case, however, in Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G., where, as will be seen, the idea of "Gelassenheit" is fundamental to the novel.

Conclusions

An attempt has been made to incorporate Richardson's novel into the progression between the principal patterns of thought arising from Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg and the principle trends in Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin. B.'s activities in the first part of Pamela are comparable with the deeds of a very diluted version of Lemelie. B. is in fact the bearer of intrigue in the novel, but it must be said that the role played by intrigue is hardly as significant as its part in Schnabel's work.⁶³ What is important, is that the new bourgeois hero no longer has to withdraw in order to be rid of intrigue, as this is now directly confronted by a bourgeois morality grown so much in stature that intrigue is ultimately crushed. For Schnabel such a triumph is impossible, and thus his heroes must either withdraw or be continually threatened by the political world. This is one of the basic differences between the two novels.

Whereas Schnabel describes the bourgeois morality as a kind of social phenomenon, Richardson depicts it as

a series of virtues. With Richardson, however, this morality has already developed a more positive identity than in Die Insel Felsenburg, for it is strong enough to assert itself in the absolutistic world. Furthermore, the bearer of it is a woman, who, although eventually placing herself at her master's disposal as his wife, is seen to have independent spiritual status throughout the whole series of conflicts when he is her would-be seducer. We are reminded here, however, of Concordia's independent spiritual attitude during the year after Lemelie's death and the spiritual unrest that Albert experiences.

Finally, there is also a development between Die Insel Felsenburg and Pamela in the part played by emotion. In Schnabel's novel, although we see the effect of emotion as a feeling of social responsibility which was later to form the basis of the friendship motif in Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin, we are never given an insight into the sentiments of the characters' minds. In Pamela, however, we are supplied with every such detail through the novel's epistolary form. For this reason Pamela can be said to be more psychological than Die Insel Felsenburg, but it is interesting to note that Gellert, as the final novelist to be discussed in this thesis, was more influenced by the warm friendship-sentimentality of Schnabel, than by the psychological emotion of Richardson. The aspect of

Richardson's novel that does appeal to Gellert, however, is its moralizing tone, and this explains the strong moral emphasis in Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G...

Footnotes

- 1 Jakob Spener, Pia Desideria in Das Zeitalter des Barock, ed. Albrecht Schöne, Die deutsche Literatur: Texte und Zeugnisse, III (Munich, 1963), p. 119.
- 2 Fritz Stemme, "Die Säkularisation des Pietismus zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde," ZDP, LXXII (1953), 154-155.
- 3 See Stemme (p.152) for an excellent discussion of this in detail. Elsewhere (p.158) he mentions and describes a "Säkularisationslinie." See also H.R.J. Günther, "Die Psychologie des deutschen Pietismus," DVLG, IV (1926), 152, for information on the affinity of pietism with Lockian empiricism.
- 4 F.J. Schneider, Die deutsche Dichtung vom Ausgang des Barocks bis zum Beginn des Klassizismus 1700-1785, Epochen der deutschen Literatur, III (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 10.
- 5 H.R.J. Günther, "Die Psychologie des deutschen Pietismus", DVLG, IV (1926), 147.
- 6 F.J. Schneider, Die deutsche Dichtung der Aufklärungszeit, 2nd. ed. (Stuttgart, 1948), p. 34.
- 7 *ibid.*, p. 35.
- 8 F. Brüggemann, "Der Kampf um die bürgerliche Welt- und Lebensanschauung in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts," DVLG, III (1925), 95.
- 9 *ibid.*, p. 99.
- 10 B. Aikin-Sneath, Comedy in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century (Oxford, 1936), p. 25.
- 11 *ibid.*
- 12 R. Newald, Die deutsche Literatur vom Späthumanismus zur Empfindsamkeit 1570-1750, 3rd. ed. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, V (Munich, 1960), p. 508.
- 13 *ibid.*
- 14 *ibid.*
- 15 By 1772 seven revised or reprinted editions had appeared in Germany following the initial translation of 1742.

- 16 A.M. Kearney, Samuel Richardson, The profiles in literature series (London, 1968), p. 1.
- 17 See A.D. McKillop, Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist (Chapel Hill, N. Carolina, 1936), p. 16.
- 18 ibid., pp. 25-26.
- 19 W. Allen, The English novel: a short critical history (London, 1954), p. 41.
- 20 Kearney, p. 3.
- 21 H.H. Borchardt, Geschichte des Romans und der Novelle in Deutschland, (Leipzig, 1926), I, 264.
- 22 See above, note 12.
- 23 H. Meinicke, Das bürgerliche Drama in Deutschland und Samuel Richardsons Familienromane: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte (diss. Heidelberg, 1922), p. 19.
- 24 See Samuel Richardson, Pamela, 2 vols. (London, 1914), I, 149. All subsequent references to Richardson's novel will be to Pamela, I. or Pamela, II.
- 25 Pamela, I, 152.
- 26 In Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.. (1747/8) Gellert also illustrates the limits of reason.
- 27 An occasion when she does, however, is during the scene with B. in the garden-house. See Pamela, I, 12.
- 28 Borchardt, p. 261.
- 29 ibid., p. 262.
- 30 L.L. Schücking, "Die Grundlagen des Richardson'schen Romans II," GRM(o.s.), XII (1924), 88.
- 31 Pamela, I, 234.
- 32 ibid., p. 257.
- 33 Pamela, II, 186. William Park describes the episode between Polly and Mr. H. as a "nightmarish" re-enactment of Pamela's former situation. See W. Park, "Fielding and Richardson," PMLA, LXXXI (1966), 387.

- 34 Pamela, II, 308.
- 35 ibid., p. 312.
- 36 M. Golden, Richardson's Characters (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963), p. 160.
- 37 Schücking, op. cit. (above, note 30), pp. 109-110.
- 38 Pamela, I, 229.
- 39 See G.F. Singer, The Epistolary Novel: its origin, development, decline and residuary influence (New York, 1963), p. 64.
- 40 See Borchardt, p. 263.
- 41 Pamela, I, 15-16.
- 42 ibid., p. 29.
- 43 ibid., p. 189.
- 44 Singer, p. 81.
- 45 L.L Schücking, "Die Familie als Geschmacksträger in England im 18. Jahrhundert," DVLG, IV (1926), 440.
- 46 ibid.
- 47 J.H. Plumb, England in the eighteenth century, The Pelican History of England, VII (London, 1950), p. 31.
- 48 ibid., p. 32.
- 49 Schücking, op. cit. (above, note 45), p. 440.
- 50 ibid., p. 441.
- 51 Christine Touaillon, Der deutsche Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1919), p. 36.
- 52 Schücking, op. cit. (above, note 45), pp. 440-441.
- 53 Touaillon, p. 46.
- 54 ibid., p. 63. Elsewhere (p. 43) Touaillon refers the male aristocracy's practice of keeping bourgeois mistresses. This is attacked by Richardson, whose Pamela refuses to be B.'s mistress, even though it would have meant a life of comfort.

- 55 Borchardt, p. 263. If this lack of development in Pamela's character appears as a disappointment, then Richardson compensates us with the problem concerning Pamela's love for Mr. B. How such a virtuous and honest girl could ever fall in love and marry such a blackguard as B. had been, would seem to present a formidable dilemma. Yet there is no violent sensation, nor is there any incredible development as she falls in love with her would-be ravisher. The problem hardly seems to occur to Richardson, and in this he is at once a great moralist and a highly competent novelist. If things can take their course with morality preserved, then the memory of lust and vice counts as nothing, but it says much for Richardson's art that in dispensing with the problem, he encourages us to do so as well almost without our knowledge. Only as a second thought does the problem confront us.
- 56 *ibid.*
- 57 *ibid.*
- 58 A suitable English translation would be "calm resignation".
- 59 L.M. Price, The Reception of English Literature in Germany (Berkeley, California, 1932), p. 191.
- 60 Pamela, I, 1.
- 61 *ibid.* p. 151.
- 62 Brüggemann, *op. cit.* (above, note 8), p. 102.
- 63 cf. Brüggemann's remark: "So ist die Kabale ein Gradmesser für das Anwachsen eines tieferen Gefühlslebens im achtzehnten Jahrhundert" i.e. The significance of intrigue increases/decreases, as the significance of the bourgeois vitality decreases/increases. See F. Brüggemann, Utopie und Robinsonade: Untersuchungen zu Schnabels Insel Felsenburg (1731-1743), Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, XLVI (Weimar, 1914), p. 32.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gellert's Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G...

(i) Introduction

Brüggemann describes Enlightenment as a purely mechanical age to which the concept of expediency was fundamental.¹ Everything was measured by the criterion of practicality and this criterion was attested to by the reason of man. In a mechanical world "gleich einem Uhrwerk"² reason was a supreme entity, not only bringing justification for the practicality of the age, but also functioning as a means of spiritual improvement. This didactic inclination of Enlightenment was a controlling factor in the literature appearing, and in the thirties Gottsched and his practical morality were a seemingly unshakeable power.³

Already by the forties, however, Gottschedian practicality and didacticism had become less significant, as the power of reason was seriously challenged. Gottsched was no longer the colossus he had been, as his influence had initially been undermined in 1740 by the Kritische Dichtkunst of the Swiss, Breitinger, which led to an open conflict, and secondly, by the work and ideas of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715-1769), who later became a professor at the University of Leipzig, where Gottsched also taught.

If morality was deemed important by Gottsched, then it became a fundamental aspect of life for Gellert. Yet

Gellert's morality is different from the practical virtue of his predecessor, for, like Richardson's, it is not as superficially didactic, and it also implies, as will be seen, that reason is indeed not all powerful. Gellert's morality is founded in the warm social feeling which Schnabel introduced in Die Insel Felsenburg and from which arose the sentimental culture of the bourgeois class.

Unlike Schnabel, however, yet like Richardson, Gellert was more concerned with moral instruction than with a mere portrayal of moral ideals.⁴ Although, for example, his emphasis on calm resignation is in fact a lecture upon the necessary acceptance of transcendental powers, such instruction is hardly in the same pedantic class as Gottschedian didacticism. Moreover, Gottsched, in excluding all bourgeois elements from the tragedy and confining them to the somewhat despised comedy, revealed himself as an emissary of the obsolete absolutistic courtly culture, although he played a much less direct role in furthering the interests of the ruling classes than the baroque courtly novelists. Gellert, on the other hand, is much more bourgeois. He speaks the language of the bourgeois class, portrays its moral standards and creates for it an independent literary culture. In his novel Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.. we see a bourgeois society established and made secure, no longer by seclusion or geological advantage, as

with the Felsenburg community, but by its own vitality and moral strength.

The domestic flavour of Gellert's novel is blended with the elements of adventure. It is in fact a synthesis of Richardsonian bourgeois domestic moralising and the kind of eventful journeying that had come down from *Grimmelshausen* to *Schnabel* in one form or another. The principal social unit is, as with Richardson, the family. Although the countess' travels take her from Livonia to Sweden, Holland and England, the family atmosphere is never destroyed because of the continual presence of her entourage. Like *Grimmelshausen* or *Schnabel*, however, Gellert loves to re-introduce his characters at the most surprising times. On a visit to England the count and countess are suddenly confronted with the prince who had caused all their misfortunes. Steeley and Amalie suddenly appear in Holland, and the count, stepping off a boat, is amazed to see his wife after being out of contact with her for years. Usually these coincidences serve to intensify the domestic feeling, the lone exception being the second encounter with the prince, for the long-lost acquaintances are readily incorporated into the family group.

The theme of this thesis does not demand, however, that every similarity between the works of *Schnabel* and Richardson and Gellert should be mentioned. It is important to know that all three novels are significant in the establishment of a bourgeois society and a bourgeois moral code, and that

Gellert surpasses Schnabel in this establishment; although his moral ideal, whose greatest benefactor was Richardson, is perhaps not as utopian as Schnabel's society.⁵ It is also important to know that Gellert turns away from the national moralizing of Gottsched to the sentimental moralizing of Richardson, despite allowing reason a vital role in his story.⁶

Christian Fürchtegott Gellert was born on the fourth of July, 1715 in Hainichen, not far from Chemnitz. One of thirteen children, he attended the local school before going to the college at Meissen. In 1734 he began studying theology in Leipzig, only to be summoned home after four years by his father. In 1741 he left for Leipzig again where he eventually became a professor of philosophy, after having lectured since 1745. At the middle of the century Gellert was the most popular German poet, enjoying the attention of courts and peasants alike.⁷ Between 1745 and 1748 his fables, comedies and the novel Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.. appeared, to be followed in 1751 by an edition of the Letters together with an essay upon good taste in letters, in 1756 by a collection of various writings and in 1757 by the religious poems. Right until the end of his life Gellert was a firm believer in the goodness of the world, and he died on the fifteenth of December 1769 full of joyful confidence.⁸

(ii) Virtue and "Gelassenheit"

The bourgeois morality to be found in Die Insel Felsenburg and Pamela is no less present in Die schwedische Gräfin, but if we regard the moral ideas of Gellert's novel on a very basic level, they appear to stretch almost beyond the bounds of credulity. While the world of intrigue (the prince and the court) is clearly inconsistent with moral rectitude, incest and particularly bigamy are fundamental to the portrayal of Gellert's moral ideal. If we regard the novel's ideas of virtue at a higher level, however, by simply accepting the fantastic statements and attitudes of the characters as a means of instruction, we may see why Gellert has been called the master moralist of the German nation.⁹

In Die Insel Felsenburg Concordia acknowledges virtue as her highest treasure. In Gellert's novel, the words of the countess re-affirm its status:

Und diesen Begriffen, ..., habe ich's bei reifern Jahren zu verdanken gehabt, dass ich die Tugend nie als eine beschwerliche Bürde, sondern als die angenehmste Gefährtin betrachtet habe, die uns die Reise durch die Welt erleichtern hilft.¹⁰

Chastity, after calm resignation in misfortune, is one of the most important virtues in Die schwedische Gräfin. When the world of intrigue intervenes and the count falls into disfavour because his wife resists the advances of the lustful prince, the count regards his banishment from the court as a small price to pay for the honour of his wife:

'Ich bin sehr wohl' ... 'mit meinem Unglücke zufrieden. Fahren Sie nur fort, mich durch ihre Tugend zu beleidigen; ich will Ihnen zeitlebens dafür danken. ... Die erlittene Ungnade ist nichts als ein Beweis, dass ich eine lebenswürdige und tugendhafte Frau habe.' ¹¹

Later, when the count is aware of his impending execution, he asks his wife to forgive the prince, whom he sees as the agent of his misfortune, and in his plea we notice how little his own life matters to him, as long as his wife's virtue is preserved:

Vergebt es ihm, dass er Euch Euren Gemahl entreisst. Es ist weit weniger, also wenn Er Euch Eure Tugend entrissen hätte. ¹²

To uphold such praiseworthy moral principles a pure and enlightened mind is essential, and Gellert frequently describes the kind of education necessary to achieve the noble level of thinking that most of his characters possess.

In Die schwedische Gräfin pedagogical instruction has a distinct bourgeois ring, and as such it appears as a contrast to the hollow education of the ruling classes. Wisdom, for example, does not consist in the pandering chatter of a hypocrite, nor in the boastings of a social braggart, but in rational thought leading to politeness, kindness, generosity, patience and calmness. ¹³ Courtly mannerisms and phrases are criticized as pedantic, and the countess herself has been brought up simply to be clear-sighted, polite and adept. ¹⁴

Sometimes, however, education is of no avail. In teaching Karlson, R., for example, becomes involved in an

ironic ambiguity. After instructing him in languages and the arts and teaching him "die edelsten Meinungen von der Religion und der Tugend,"¹⁵ he can only watch as his prodigy later falls a helpless victim to the very passions he had been taught to control.

Religion seems to play an important part in the bourgeois scheme of education. The countess is introduced to it "auf eine vernünftige Art,"¹⁶ and she later declares:

Ich glaube gewiss, dass die Religion, wenn sie uns vernünftig und gründlich beigebracht wird, unsern Verstand ebenso vortrefflich aufklären kann, als sie unser Herz verbessert. Und viele Leute würden mehr Verstand zu den ordentlichen Geschäften des Berufs und zu einer guten Lebensart haben, wenn er durch den Unterricht der Religion wäre geschärft worden.¹⁷

Religion, for the characters of Gellert's novel, is not a matter of praying or reading passages from the Bible; it is really an awareness and an acceptance of divinely-ordained actions which are not necessarily beneficial. As an acknowledgement of transcendental intervention, religion may qualify reason, as the countess' words (see footnote 17) indicate. Thus when the dilemma of Karlson and Marianne's incestuous relationship is discussed, the conclusion is reached that Karlson must never see his sister again, for "er kennt die Religion und hört die Vernunft";¹⁸ in other words, Karlson will be able to recognize his tragedy as the work of Fate and thus know that as a mere human being he is ultimately powerless to do anything but accept it.

Sometimes religion is unable to offer comfort. On such occasions reason has been washed aside by an emotional wave that can only lead to a conflict with the transcendental power. In Marianne we find an example of such a conflict:

Die Religion hiess sie die Liebe der Ehe in Schwester- und Bruderliebe verwandeln, und ihr Herz verlangte das Gegenteil. 19

Karoline, in spite of admitting the innocence of her children's marriage, is unable to condone their association and determines to despise them if they persist with their incestuous relationship. We may thus see that any conflict between human feelings and divine action is accompanied by the risk of contempt and disdain for those who must suffer the consequences of the higher intervention.

The tragedy of Karlson and Marianne raises the poignant question of guilt and retribution in the novel. The guilt, of course, surrounds Karoline and the count. Karoline sees the incest tragedy of her children as a retribution for her earlier love-affair with the count:

'Vielleicht ist es die Strafe, dass ich - doch Gott hat es verhänget.' 20

The count, however, sees his wife's marriage to R. as a punishment for his earlier love-affair with Karoline:

'Niemand ist an meinem Unglücke schuld als das Verhängnis. Vielleicht ist dieses die Strafe für die Liebe mit Karolinen.' 21

A contradictory note is introduced into the novel with Marianne's death. Not only can she be regarded as guilty for her non-acceptance of Fate's workings; she may also incur guilt by destroying divinely-ordained circumstances in taking her own life. In Gellert's happy world suicide is the greatest sin, and it is strange that he should include it in his novel, especially with a figure whom he treats with so much affection. It is perhaps even stranger that Marianne's death invokes guilt-feelings in the countess.²² Karoline, however, is far more composed, for, as the countess presumes, she relies upon religion for spiritual strength. Once again the identification of religion with the acceptance of transcendental intervention is illustrated:

Ich weiss nicht, wem sie ihren Beistand zu danken hatte; vermutlich der Religion. Sie sah alles für ein Verhängnis an, dessen Ursachen sie nicht ergründen konnte.²³

Immediately afterwards we hear: "Es ist gewiss, dass der Beistand der Religion in Unglücksfällen eine unglaubliche Kraft hat."²⁴ In the acknowledgement of the higher intervention one may find sustenance for any spiritual weakness and subsequently establish a permanent "Gelassenheitsideal," the traces of which are already present in Schnabel's and Richardson's work. As Brüggemann correctly claims, this "Gelassenheitsideal" reaches its most complete form in Gellert's novel,²⁵ and in the following words we see how much the idea of a higher power controlling earthly events

discourages individual claims in such matters:

Man sieht, wenn man den Betrachtungen über die Vorsehung nachhängt, die Unmöglichkeit, sich selbst zu helfen deutlicher, als wenn man sich seinen Empfindungen überlässt; man sieht die Notwendigkeit, sich ihren Führungen zu überlassen, und man will doch zugleich nicht von dem Plane seiner eignen Wünsche abgehn. Man will ihn gewiss, man will ihn bald ausgeführt wissen, und man sieht doch, dass die Umstände dazu nicht in unserer Gewalt stehn. ²⁶

An actual example of this recognition is given in the reaction of the count to the death-sentence passed over him:

Der Himmel weiss, dass ich unschuldig bin.
... Doch es ist eine Schickung. Ich will meinen Tod mit Standhaftigkeit erwarten. ²⁷

As far as the novel is concerned, however, "Gelassenheit" is also significant for other reasons. It is, in fact, the fundamental motif of the work, for without it the friendship and love motifs could not exist, and furthermore its absence would signify the breakdown of the bourgeois moral code. On four separate occasions "Gelassenheit" is seen to be vital to the novel's social harmony.

The first occasion is Karoline's withdrawal of any claims she might have had on the count. Although she is the mother of his child, she realizes that because of her lower birth the count would never be able to obtain the grace of the court to marry her. Karoline reconciles

herself to this fact, and by being "gelassen" she can be said to share in the novel's feeling of social responsibility, because she thinks primarily of the count's happiness and not of her own:

Ich höre, dass man Ihnen den Entschluss, mich für Ihre Gemahlin zu erklären, sehr sauer macht. ... Doch wenn ich einmal meinen Grafen verlieren soll, so will ich ihn mit Ruhm verlieren. Kurz, mein liebster Graf, ich opfere Ihrem Glücke und Ihrem Stande meine Liebe und meine Zufriedenheit auf und vergesse das schmeichelhafte Glück, Ihre Gemahlin zu werden, auf ewig. ... Vermählen Sie sich, mein lieber Graf, und denken Sie künftig nur an mich als an Ihre Freundin. ... Ich bleibe bei meinem Entschlusse, Ihnen zu beweisen, dass ich Ihr Glück meiner Wohlfahrt vorziehe. ²⁸

The attitude of the countess to Karoline, as her husband's former lover, again shows the relationship of "Gelassenheit" to social consideration. By being "gelassen" the countess is able to resume her previous friendship with Karoline and thus ensures the continued harmony of the novel:

Man glaube ja nicht, dass ich die ehemalige Geliebte meines Gemahls zu hassen anfang. Nein, ich liebte sie, und die Liebe besänftigte die Eifersucht. ²⁹

Later on, the countess even allows Karoline to keep the count's picture. ³⁰

The two greatest trials that the characters' "Gelassenheit" has to endure in maintaining the novel's friendly atmosphere occur when the count suddenly returns from Siberia to find his wife married to R.. At first it is the count who accepts the startling circumstances, for he is unable to feel anger, nor can he

think of revenge. Attributing everything to Fate, his thoughts are solely of his wife's continued happiness:

'Ich will Sie durch meine Gegenwart nicht länger quälen. Ich will Sie gleich verlassen. Sie sind mir nicht untreu geworden. Sie haben mich für tot gehalten. Ich mache Ihnen keine Vorwürfe. Niemand ist an meinem Unglücke schuld als das Verhängnis.'³¹

The count, revealing such resigned composure, overcomes the first great crisis of the novel. Once he identifies his misfortune as the workings of Fate, he knows that the calamity is beyond human control. This explains his immediate decision to leave, an action which would otherwise be quite incredible in view of the earlier love between him and the countess. To the count the decision to leave can only appear as perfectly normal procedure, because he is well aware of his helplessness when caught up in the whims of a higher authority.

The second great climax of the novel concerns the countess' second husband, R.. Like the count, R. also places his own interests below those of his friend, and he too, by being "gelassen", may share in the novel's social world. The thought of leaving occurs to him immediately when the count returns, and in his explanatory note his unselfish disposition betrays strong feelings of guilt:

Ich habe Sie durch die unschuldigste Liebe so sehr beleidigt, als ob ich Ihr Feind gewesen wäre. Ich habe Ihnen Ihre Gemahlin entzogen. ... Das einzige Mittel, mich zu bestrafen, ist, dass ich fliehe. Ich verlasse Sie, liebster Graf, und werde mich zeitlebens vor mir selber schämen. ³²

When subsequently confronted by the count and countess, R. possibly displays the greatest example of all of calm resignation:

'Ich will nichts als Abschied von Ihnen nehmen' ... 'von Ihnen und Ihrer Gemahlin.' ... 'Hier' ... 'übergebe ich Ihnen meine Gemahlin und verwandle meine Liebe von diesem Augenblicke an in Ehrerbietung.' ³³

In illustrating the functionings of the "Gelassenheitsideal", Gellert must have been aware that he was treading on rather elevated ground. Spaethling writes that the group surrounding the countess forms an ideal world, from which suffering and disorder are easily banished. ³⁴ This, of course, is true, but it must not be forgotten that this ideal world takes a step nearer to the reality of human nature when the count momentarily succumbs to his pessimism and despair in the Siberian prison-camp. In this instance religion fails to fortify the afflicted, so that the "Gelassenheitsideal" is unable to function. Instead, the count's mind becomes dark and he can only see fit to complain and bemoan his misfortunes. His companion in distress, Steele, sets the count an example, however, by placing his fate in God's hands and contenting himself with this measure. ³⁵

The case of Karlson and Marianne is far more tragic. By their non-acceptance of Fate and subsequent rejection of the "Gelassenheitsideal," they ultimately expose themselves as outsiders in the novel. They represent an altogether different type of person from the rest of the harmonious community, and because of this difference any reconciliation with the others is impossible.³⁶ The relationship of Gellertian religion to human reason has already been mentioned (p 100), and it was shown that religion can only have a beneficial effect on the victim of Fate, if that victim's mind is guided by reason. The expressions of Karlson and Marianne are, however, full of contradictory statements and are totally irrational, as the following lines show:

Marianne 'Ich bin Eure Schwester. Doch nein! Mein Herz sagt mir nichts davon. Ich bin Euer, ich bin Euer.'³⁷

Karlson Ja, ja, ich sterbe, ich sterbe getrost. Doch Gott! ich soll Euch nicht wiedersehen. Ich soll Euch verlassen, liebste Marianne? Ich soll sterben?³⁸

Karlson and Marianne are outsiders in the novel because they are not enlightened characters in the Gellertian sense. Whereas the other figures can turn to the protection of the "Gelassenheitsideal" whenever spiritual danger looms near, Karlson and Marianne are unable to invoke such aid, as their emotions are more powerful than their reason, and, like Werther, they must ultimately go under.³⁹

Because of the fantastic series of coincidences, spiritual danger is ever present in the story. The enlightened characters are often exposed to it, and at times it almost overcomes them. Calm resignation, therefore, is actually demanded of the characters if they are to survive, and we begin to see why Israel Stamm terms it an "automatic virtue."⁴⁰ If sincerity is the chief virtue in Die Insel Felsenburg and chastity in Pamela, then calm resignation assumes the same importance in Die schwedische Gräfin.

"Gelassenheit" may in a sense be termed a child of Enlightenment, as it really constitutes enlightened man's acceptance of God. God had no direct place in the sphere of Wolff-Gottschedian rationalism, and the notion of a divine spirit was explained as a transcendental deity.⁴¹ This idea reached its supreme form in Lessing's Nathan der Weise, where the Godhead was responsible for all acts of providence. The literary succession Schnabel-Richardson-Gellert illustrates the earlier stages in the development of the providence motif, and we may ascertain that it at first only concerns benevolent acts but later incorporates harsher and in some instances tragic episodes. Although the existence of God could thus to a certain extent be rationalised, the ultimate helplessness of enlightened man during periods of transcendental intervention could

only be explained, somewhat unsatisfactorily for him, by the power of the Creator over the created; that is, one can only accept what is ordained.

We may conclude this discussion of "Gelassenheit" on a more satisfying note, however. In instances already mentioned "Gelassenheit" has played an integral part in the harmony of the characters and has thus contributed greatly to the philanthropic atmosphere of the novel. The feeling of companionship, first present in Schnabel's work, develops fully in Die schwedische Gräfin into the love of one's fellow man.

(iii) Intrigue, Love and Friendship

As in Pamela, and particularly in Die Insel Felsenburg, intrigue is present in Die schwedische Gräfin, where its representatives are the prince and Dormund.

As Brüggemann appears to indicate, however, the prince's intrigues are themselves alone not instrumental in causing misfortune, as they are merely the initial and exterior manifestation of Fate:

Das Motiv der Verfolgung oder Nachstellung ist ... in der Schwedischen Gräfin der Hebel, der die äussere Handlung des Romans mechanisch in Bewegung setzt. Aber dieses Motiv steht in Gellerts Roman nicht so im Mittelpunkt des Werkes, dass aus ihm heraus eine Analyse der ganzen Schöpfung unternommen werden könnte. Ganz andere Umstände sind es vielmehr, die Gellert Anlass geben, das zu sagen, was er hatte sagen wollen, Umstände, bei denen es sich auch darum handelt, dass die Personen des Romans verfolgt werden, aber nicht von boshaften Mitmenschen, sondern von unglücklichen Zufällen, jenem übergeordneten Fatum, das entsprechend der Gottesanschauung der Zeit vollständig transcendent gedacht wird. ⁴²

Back at a more basic level, the countess resists the intrigues of the prince in typical Richardsonian fashion, but after her husband's reported death, she, like many of Schnabel's heroes, must flee in order to be finally free of the nefarious schemes of her antagonist.⁴³

As indicated above, the whole string of misfortunes which befall the bourgeois group centred around the countess, are only indirectly due to the persecution of the prince. Dormund, the second representative of intrigue in the novel, is on the other hand directly responsible for the deaths of both Karlson and Marianne. Dormund is portrayed as a similar figure to Schnabel's Lemelie. In order to win Marianne for himself, he poisons Karlson, who happens to be his best friend. Later, when he is seriously ill, his conscience troubles him more than his suffering, and, like Lemelie, he confesses his deed. He manages to recover his strength, however, and goes off to fight, preferring a soldier's death to suicide.

For Gellert, intrigue also serves a much better purpose than the accomplishment of egoistic ideals, for it enables him to underline the significance of love and friendship.

The bourgeois feeling of social responsibility, originally stemming from the secularization of pietism and initially developed in Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg,

achieves perfection in the philanthropic atmosphere of Die schwedische Gräfin. We have seen how "Gelassenheit" may contribute to friendship, and we are thus not surprised when the countess invites Karoline to accompany her to Amsterdam, or when Karoline offers her small estate to the countess, or when the count asks R. to stay with him and his wife.⁴⁴ The count, we hear, is "die Gutheit und Menschenliebe selbst,"⁴⁵ and because of these qualities he is able to forgive the prince for his wickedness and urges the countess to do likewise.⁴⁶ During the Dormund-Marianne crisis the countess and R. portray the same qualities as the count. In spite of Dormund's terrible deed they are unable to feel hatred for him:

Wir mussten ihn als einen Mörder hassen; doch die allgemeine Menschenliebe verband uns auch zum Mitleiden.⁴⁷

Steeley's attitude to Eskin in Siberia is identical. Eskin had refused to give Steeley any water to drink and had insulted him by throwing the water-bowl at his feet. A year later he is dragged half-dead into the camp and left unfed. Steeley not only nourishes him back to health, but also cleans his wounds, and Eskin, embarrassed by this kindness, asks Steeley's forgiveness.⁴⁸

On other occasions, giving money is seen as an act of friendship. R.'s servant gives his master his life-savings as he is dying, as gratitude for R.'s goodness and kindness.⁴⁹ Karoline gives Andreas some of her money

to enable him to set up a new business.⁵⁰ R. and the countess do likewise and give yet more money to others.⁵¹ But Gellert's characters are by no means frivolous with their wealth. Money is only given to those who are recognised as honest and sincere:

Es war uns [R. and the countess] oft genug, es hinzugeben, wenn wir wussten, dass derjenige, der uns darum bat, ein rechtschaffener Mann war, der das Geld nötiger brauchte als wir. ... Wir haben in der Tat auf diese Art viel Geld eingebüsst; aber wir sind niemals darum betrogen worden. Unsere Schuldner hatten ein gutes Herz, aber wenig Glück. ⁵²

The generosity of Gellert's characters marks them as typical bourgeois representatives of the eighteenth century. For them glamour and wealth have lost their significance in face of the newly-recognised values of spiritual life. True happiness can now only be found in the calm, carefree domestic existence which Pamela introduced and which Gellert took up.⁵³ Thus the count can only feel sympathy for the bankrupt Jew and gives him money, instead of taking drastic action in order to obtain the sum the Jew owed him.⁵⁴ Thus the Polish Jew, arriving in Amsterdam, donates a small fortune to the countess' little daughter.⁵⁵

There are several instances of lasting friendship in the novel, and Spaethling shows that such friendship is more significant in the second part of the story, where there are long periods of pessimism.⁵⁶ Brüggemann notices too that in the second part the "Gelassenheitsideal"

certainly wavers,⁵⁷ but scepticism is alternated with hope, as the belief in the strength and goodness of man is not entirely absent.⁵⁸ As examples of this belief, we may point to the count's friendship with the Frenchman or with the Polish Jew, but above all to his friendship with Steeley. Here we find a warm companionship in the wastes of Siberia, as the two friends share each other's misery and distress. The depth of their friendship becomes apparent when the count is released:

'Ihr seid frei,' fing er [Steeley] an, 'und ich verliere Euch und bleibe noch ein Gefangner und werde noch unglücklicher als zuvor? ... Ich weiss, dass es Euch unmöglich ist, mich zu vergessen. Nein', fiel er mir um den Hals, 'Ihr vergesst mich nicht.'⁵⁹

When the count and Steeley are finally reunited, the emotional aspect of friendship is revealed:

O, was ist das Vergnügen der Freundschaft für eine Wollust, und wie wallen empfindliche Herzen einander in so glücklichen Augenblicken entgegen!⁶⁰

The philanthropy of the characters is especially emphasized when they are confronted with calamity and misfortune. The count does not hesitate to rescue the Polish Jew from an icy death⁶¹ and later spends much time helping and comforting people less fortunate than himself.⁶² The help administered to the pregnant girl found lying in the grass is yet another illustration of bourgeois benevolence.⁶³

Friendship was the fundamental trait of the sentimental culture that invaded the cold precincts of rationalism

in eighteenth-century Germany, and its significance is possibly nowhere as clearly expressed as in the count's words in Siberia:

Ein Sklave zu sein, bleibt allemal das grösste Unglück; allein einen Freund in diesem Elende zum Gefährten zu haben, ist zugleich die grösste Wohltat. Eine Umarmung, ein Wort, ein Blick von ihm, alles ist ein Trost, der sich nicht ausdrücken lässt, alles ist Mitleiden; und was sucht ein unglückliches Herz, das der Notwendigkeit elend zu sein, unterworfen ist, mehr als Mitleiden?⁶⁴

"Gelassenheit" and friendship, in that order, are the most important qualities in the novel. With chastity, sincerity and moderation they make possible, between calamities, the enviable existence of the countess and R., which can only be described as the ultimate example of bourgeois social contentment:

Wer war glücklicher als wir! Unser Glück fiel niemanden in die Augen, und desto ruhiger konnten wir es geniessen. Wir lebten ohne zu befehlen und ohne zu gehorchen. Wir durften niemanden von unsern Handlungen Rechenschaft geben als uns selbst. Wir hatten mehr, als wir begehrten, und also genug, andern wohlzutun. Wir hatten eine Gesellschaft, die sich zu unsern Neigungen schickte. Wir lebten an dem volkreichsten Orte in der grössten Stille. Dieses war unser Verlangen. Wir konnten uns beide mit dem edelsten Zeitvertreibe, mit Lesen und Denken unterhalten. Wir studierten, ohne dass uns deswegen jemand bewundern sollte. Wir studierten zu unserer eigenen Ruhe. Und dass ich alles mit einmal sage, wir wussten in unserer Ehe von keinem andern Wechsel als von Gefälligkeiten und Gegen-gefälligkeiten.⁶⁵

(iv) The bourgeois-sentimental atmosphere

Both Die Insel Felsenburg and Pamela are bourgeois novels. Whereas the one exhibits a great deal of sentimental-

moral content, the other is much more rational, although, of course, its method of moralizing lies in the sympathy incurred for the heroine and not in rational observation. When referring to a bourgeois-sentimental atmosphere in these two works, the crucial term is the German expression, "Wehmutseligkeit," referred to in chapter three as melancholy bliss. Schnabel's novel contains much of this but it is largely absent in Richardson's, whose sentimentalism is of an entirely different character. Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin betrays, however, a definite Schnabelian influence, for the same "Tränenwelt" as that at Felsenburg is present in his story.

As with Schnabel, there is much grief in the novel. When the countess hears of the count's fate, she is unable to describe her pain. Religion and reason are no longer valid and she spends the appointed day of execution weeping and praying with R.⁶⁶ Karoline, upon hearing of her children's incest, almost dissolves into tears,⁶⁸ and similar emotional scenes occur when Marianne learns the true circumstances of Karlson's death.⁶⁸

Sometimes tears of sadness form an expression of the novel's social feeling. Karoline, learning of the countess' initial misfortune, feels sympathy for her and sheds "tausend Tränen."⁶⁹ Amalie weeps at the news of Steeley and Sidne's torture and Sidne's subsequent death⁷⁰

and is emotionally disturbed by Steeley's story of his fiancée in England:

Er fing endlich an, von der traurigen Begebenheit mit seiner Braut in Engelland zu erzählen, und ich ward so gerührt, dass ich recht gewalt- sam von meinem Stuhle aufsprang und ganz nah zu ihm trat; ... Er ward bei dieser Erzählung sehr weichmütig und endigte sie mit einem 'Ach Gott!', das mir durch die Seele ging.⁷¹

Everybody weeps when Steeley's father bids them farewell moments before his death,⁷² and later the women shed quiet tears at the grave of Steeley's former fiancée.⁷³

Parting is a further occasion for emotional displays. When Steeley ends his relationship with the Siberian peasant-girl, she leaves, her eyes brimming with tears.⁷⁴ Steeley then weeps at the thought of leaving Amalie.⁷⁵

Elsewhere, Steeley's father cries the most bitter tears over the hardships his son has had to bear,⁷⁶ and R. is temporarily overcome by emotion and breaks down in tears when the count returns from Russia.⁷⁷ Very often, however, tears are shed in happiness. Karoline accepts the countess' generous offer of friendship and cannot help crying,⁷⁸ and the count stands and weeps for joy at the sight of his wife in Holland,⁷⁹ where she can only reply to his questions "mit ... Tränen und Umarmungen."⁸⁰ When Steeley is reunited with the count in Siberia, he is also unable to speak and cries for happiness.⁸¹

Just as tears of sadness are sometimes the expression

of loving sympathy, tears of joy are occasionally an expression of love itself. The count's father weeps such tears after he has called his son and the countess to his bedside:

'Dieses', sagte er, 'sind seit vierzig und mehr Jahren die ersten Tränen, die ich vergiesse. Sie sind keine Zeichen meiner Wehmut und Furchtsamkeit, sondern meiner Liebe.' ⁸²

Elsewhere in the novel there are other extremely emotional scenes, as when Steeley arrives in Holland with Amalie. Here words are no longer necessary, and the tremendous emotional depth that the unexpected sight of a long-lost friend brings, becomes plain in the countess' narrative:

Man sieht einander schweigend an, und die Seele ist doch nie beredter als bei einem solchen Stillschweigen. Sie sagt in einem Blicke, in einem Kusse ganze Reihen von Empfindungen und Gedanken auf einmal, ohne sie zu verwirren. ⁸³

Another tender scene involves the declarations of love of Steeley and Amalie. We are reminded immediately of Concordia and Albert's touching interlude by the river, for Gellert employs the same intensification of feeling as Schnabel. The dialogue is simple but delightful, and when Amalie involuntarily seizes Steeley's hand as he is about to leave, thereby betraying her feelings to him, we are charmed even more. ⁸⁴

Returning to the world of sad tears, the concept of melancholy bliss is implicit in the tragedies which befall the characters. We become more aware of this fact

when we observe the curious hybrid emotions of the countess drinking wine out of the same glass that Amalie had used to drink her health in Siberia:

Ich sah das Glas und den Wein an und sah meinen Gemahl zugleich in Siberien und in den unglücklichsten Umständen von einer grossmütigen Seele bedauert und geschützt; ich sah sie an und trank, und Tränen fielen in den Wein. Kein Wein hat mir in meinem Leben so gut geschmeckt als dieser. ⁸⁵

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between melancholy bliss and self-pity. The latter, however, is of definite negative value in the morality of the bourgeois class, as it indicates an inactivity which in its most extreme form is a rejection of the "Gelassenheitsideal". The former, on the other hand, is either a deliberate attempt to improve morale by purging the emotions or an involuntary process of self-comfort through intensification of the same feeling. In neither case is the individual inactive, because the "Gelassenheitsideal" has been affirmed and he is only basically trying to adjust to new circumstances. Thus the count and the countess purposely reminisce over the misfortunes of earlier days in order to invoke a sentimental-happy mood:

Wenn wir mitten in unsern Vergnügungen recht empfindlich gerührt sein wollten, so dachten wir unserm Schicksale nach. Diejenigen, die niemals unter grossen Unglücksfällen geseufzt haben, wissen gar nicht, was für eine Wollust in diesen Betrachtungen zu finden ist. ⁸⁶

Thus too, the countess, mourning the death of the count, experiences a sensual pleasure in her tears which prevents

her for several weeks from regaining her composure.⁸⁷

Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.. is not, however, pervaded with sentimentalism to the same extent as Die Insel Felsenburg. In spite of the tears and tender scenes and the illustration of the most ideal form of social responsibility which is sentimental in its very origins, Gellert is more rational than emotional. Yet his rationalism appears diluted, for unlike other enlightened thinkers he acknowledges the basic weakness of man and emphasizes man's social nature. In conclusion, we may only state that regardless of how social, sentimental or loving Gellert's characters may be, if they cannot act rationally, i.e. in the Gellertian sense, when the situation demands it, they assume the significance of outsiders who cannot be said to belong in the harmonious social community which the others create.

(v) Reason and the bourgeois world

Although reason is important for the didacticism of Christian Weise and appears in a somewhat different role in Pamela, in Die Insel Felsenburg it is overshadowed by the novel's pietistic-sentimental atmosphere. With Gellert reason assumes a certain bourgeois significance, but it is by no means the ultimate key to the problems of life, and thus his novel represents a trend away from orthodox Enlightenment.

The very fact that reason is essential for the functioning of a "Gelassenheitsideal" shows at once its significance and its limitations. Several instances of the intervention of transcendental powers have already been mentioned and in most the futility of man's position is clear.⁸⁸ We see how fortune and virtue are suddenly made dubious, and we become aware that reason cannot give any explanation for these formations. If man wishes to determine his own life, he must realize that this is not the power to do so, as the countess already knows:

Man sieht, indem sein Schicksal durchschaut,
sein Unvermögen, sich selber glücklich zu
machen.⁸⁹

Gellert, in showing the limits of human reason, indicates that man's sole consolation is in religion and in reconciliation with death.⁹⁰ He means to say that reason is not an infallible intuitive process giving security to existence but that its real role is as a restrainer of emotions.⁹¹

Gellert is then hardly a rationalist after the fashion of Wolff or Gottsched, but according to Israel Stamm, he is a rationalist "if we construe rationalism in a wide sense as confidence in the power of man's consciousness over his experience, either by the direct power of his faculties or by an attributed rationalistic

character of life and the world that makes them consonant with man's reason and hence responsive to it - if we construe rationalism in such a wide confident sense of the amenability of life to man's mind and will."⁹² Stamm continues that "reason is here very close to the sense of control, and to a moralist like Gellert it is chiefly the control of human nature that is involved."⁹³ He then points to a remark of Gellert in the conclusion to the Moralische Vorlesungen, which is quoted as follows:

Allein so nöthig unsere Bemühungen sind, so können wir doch nie durch die Kräfte der Vernunft und Natur wahrhaftig weise und tugendhaft werden. ⁹⁴

Gellert is obviously well aware of the weakness of human powers, and we may see in this awareness a motive for the almost pedantic insistence upon "Gelassenheit." He is exposing the ultimate inadequacy of reason against the actual fact of human misfortune, and the function of rationalism is thus relegated to the realization of man's limitations.

(vi) Conclusions

Much has been said about the importance of "Gelassenheit" in the novel and we have seen the significance of chastity and how the moderation of the characters excludes external materialism. Friendship and sincerity, too, have been mentioned, and we can add that just as with Schnabel's heroes, Gellert's characters may

only associate with those persons in whom such qualities are manifested. The countess loves R. not because of his physical appearance but because he is magnanimous and virtuous, and she marries him for such reasons in spite of his lower birth.⁹⁵

The relationship of the countess and R. enables Gellert to criticize the absolutistic class-structure that was so significant for Gottsched. The countess writes to R., for example:

Sie sind so grossmütig und tugendhaft mit mir umgegangen, dass ich Sie lieben muss. ... Entschuldigen Sie sich nicht mit Ihrem Stande. Sie haben die Verdienste; was geht die Vernünftigen die Ungleichheit des Standes an? ⁹⁶

Not only does Gellert here underline the worthiness and competence of the bourgeois class, he is also employing reason as a means of recognizing the true values of existence.

The relationship also allows Gellert to explain the bourgeois attitude to marriage. According to R., a contented marriage "'bleibt nach allen Ansprüchen der Vernunft die grösste Glückseligkeit des gesellschaftlichen Lebens. ... Wir haben alle eine Pflicht, uns das Leben so vergnügt und anmutig zu machen, als es möglich ist. Und wenn es wahrscheinlich ist, dass es durch die Liebe geschehen kann, so sind wir auch zur Liebe und Ehe verbunden.'" ⁹⁷

Marriage is then a moral duty if it can add to the happiness of life. We see at once that Gellert's world is full of positive optimism and that his belief in man is great.

Although depth of thought and feeling is important for the bourgeois class in expelling superficialities such as wealth and recognition, the bourgeois concept of love does not solely rest on a spiritual relationship. Admittedly, purely physical love may be regarded as just as much a superficiality as wealth, but supplemented by a spiritual bond, it is an apparently beautiful experience:

Man denke ja nicht, weil wir die Wissenschaften liebten, dass wir an uns nur unsere Seelen geliebt hätten. Ich habe bei allen meinen Büchern über die metaphysische Geistesliebe nur lachen müssen. Der Körper gehört so gut als die Seele zu unserer Natur. ⁹⁸

For Gellert, love and marriage, when properly considered, are not dangerous displays of passion or frivolity, but a means of benevolence and a source of happiness.⁹⁹

Because of this, and thus not only for more obvious reasons, they are of fundamental significance to the bourgeois society.

Gellert's characters intermittently experience the same kind of spiritual bliss as Schnabel's islanders. But Gellert's characters not only enjoy such bliss in a more domestic world than Schnabel's heroes, they are also endowed with the capacity for calm resignation, which must

ultimately shed a very different light on their lives. In Die Insel Felsenburg fate is fundamentally benevolent, but in Die schwedische Gräfin it is often unkind or, to say the least, indifferent. Consequently there is a certain feeling of futility in Gellert's novel, whereas the heroes of the Felsenburg are seen as more independent characters and not so much as passive figures at the mercy of supernatural powers.

Die schwedische Gräfin is, with some reservations, "ein Musterfall moralischer Planwirtschaft."¹⁰⁰ We may only question the consistency of the love-affair between the count and Karoline with their overall characters. On the other hand, we run the risk of being termed prudish, for Gellert takes great pains to explain that the relationship is noble and virtuous.¹⁰¹ Yet during the course of the novel the count and Karoline both come to regard their misfortunes as acts of retribution for their earlier love, although we are never actually sure that Fate is indeed acting in such a way.¹⁰² Gellert is here so ambiguous that we can only accept Ingeborg Arndt's interpretation that in this instance he experiences a conflict between Christian ethics and enlightened tolerance.¹⁰³

When one is dealing with Gellert's work, it should not be forgotten that he was a professor of moral philosophy, and that to a certain extent he was haunted by the "old

bugbear of utilitarianism."¹⁰⁴ Moral refinement was important for Gellert, and in continuing the Richardsonian moralizing trend, he illustrates "Gelassenheit" as the most fundamental virtue of all. Yet we might ask whether or not Gellert has made too good a job of portraying his chief bourgeois virtue, for there is doubtless more than a grain of truth in Elisabeth Kretschmer's contention that whereas the virtues of Pamela are basic and authentic, the morality of the countess would appeal more to an idealist.¹⁰⁵

Footnotes

- 1 F. Brüggemann, "Der Kampf um die bürgerliche Welt- und Lebensanschauung in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts," DVLG, III (1925), 101-102. Hereafter referred to as Brüggemann, Kampf.
- 2 *ibid.*, 101.
- 3 See F. Brüggemann, introduction to Die bürgerliche Gemeinschaftskultur der vierziger Jahre I, ed. F. Brüggemann, Deutsche Literatur: Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe Aufklärung, 5 (Leipzig, 1933), p. 5. All subsequent references will be to Brüggemann, R.A.
- 4 Gellert's novel not only contains a lesson for the reader; there is a strong emphasis on education for the characters themselves. cf. R.'s work Der standhafte Weise im Unglück.
- 5 E. Kretschmer gives an analysis of episodes that Gellert "borrowed" from Schnabel und Richardson. See E. Kretschmer, Gellert als Romanschriftsteller (diss. Heidelberg, 1902), pp. 41-48.
- 6 Richardson does this as well. See chapter three, p. 73.
- 7 R. Newald, Die deutsche Literatur vom Späthumanismus zur Empfindsamkeit 1570-1750, 3rd ed., Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, V (Munich, 1960), 516.
- 8 F. Behrend, Concluding remarks to Christian Fürchtegott Gellerts Fabeln und Erzählungen (Berlin, n.d.) p. 95.
- 9 Brüggemann, R.A., p. 7.
- 10 C.F. Gellert, Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.. in Die bürgerliche Gemeinschaftskultur der vierziger Jahre I (see above, note 3), p. 165. All subsequent references will be to Gräfin.
- 11 Gräfin, p. 178.
- 12 *ibid.*, p. 180.
- 13 see *ibid.*, p. 165.
- 14 see *ibid.*, p. 164. "Sie soll nur klug und gar nicht gelehrt werden." This does not, however, automatically make her a bourgeois.

- 15 *ibid.*, p. 185.
- 16 *ibid.*, p. 165.
- 17 *ibid.*
- 18 *ibid.*, p. 195.
- 19 *ibid.*, p. 196.
- 20 *ibid.*, p. 197. The omitted words referring to her former relationship with the count.
- 21 *ibid.*, p. 209.
- 22 *ibid.*, p. 205.
- 23 *ibid.*
- 24 *ibid.*, p. 206.
- 25 Brüggemann, Kampf, p. 102.
- 26 Gräfin, p. 218.
- 27 *ibid.*, pp. 179-180.
- 28 *ibid.*, pp. 173-174.
- 29 *ibid.*, p. 172.
- 30 *ibid.*, p. 183.
- 31 *ibid.*, p. 209.
- 32 *ibid.*, p. 210.
- 33 *ibid.*, p. 211.
- 34 R.H. Spaethling, "Die Schranken der Vernunft in Gellerts Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Aufklärung," PMLA, LXXXI (1966) 224.
- 35 Gräfin, pp. 217-218.
- 36 F. Brüggemann, Gellerts "Schwedische Gräfin": Der Roman der Welt- und Lebensanschauung des vorsubjektivistischen Bürgertums (Aachen, 1925), p. 24. All subsequent references will be to Brüggemann, S.G.

- 37 Gräfin, p. 196.
- 38 *ibid.*, p. 200.
- 39 Spaethling, p. 227.
- 40 Israel Stamm, "Gellert: Religion and Rationalism,"
GR, XXVIII (1953), 200.
- 41 Brüggemann, Kampf, pp. 101-102.
- 42 Brüggemann, S.G., p. 15.
- 43 Much later the countess meets the prince in England,
but he no longer employs intrigue.
- 44 Gräfin, pp. 182, 182, 211 respectively
- 45 *ibid.*, p. 174.
- 46 *ibid.*, p. 180. The count's actual spoken forgiveness is
not until much later.
- 47 *ibid.*, p. 204.
- 48 *ibid.*, p. 234-235.
- 49 *ibid.*, p. 183.
- 50 *ibid.*, p. 198.
- 51 *ibid.*, p. 206.
- 52 *ibid.*
- 53 See Ingeborg Arndt, Die seelische Welt im Roman des
achtzehnten Jahrhunderts (diss. Giessen, 1940), p. 11.
The bourgeois disconcern for money is a sharp contrast
to the interests of the Russian commandant in charge of
the count. See Gräfin, p. 231.
- 54 Gräfin, p. 242.
- 55 *ibid.*, p. 248.
- 56 Spaethling, p. 228.
- 57 Brüggemann, S.G., p. 37.
- 58 Spaethling, p. 228.
- 59 Gräfin, p. 240.

- 60 *ibid.*, p. 250.
- 61 *ibid.*, p. 221.
- 62 *ibid.*, p. 245.
- 63 *ibid.*, pp. 245-246.
- 64 *ibid.*, pp. 227-228.
- 65 *ibid.*, p. 189.
- 66 *ibid.*, p. 180.
- 67 *ibid.*, p. 193.
- 68 *ibid.*, p. 205.
- 69 *ibid.*, p. 182.
- 70 *ibid.*, p. 255.
- 71 *ibid.*, p. 256
- 72 *ibid.*, p. 273.
- 73 *ibid.*, p. 274.
- 74 *ibid.*, p. 236.
- 75 *ibid.*, p. 263.
- 76 *ibid.*, p. 269.
- 77 *ibid.*, p. 210.
- 78 *ibid.*, p. 171.
- 79 *ibid.*, p. 208.
- 80 *ibid.*, p. 209. Perhaps her tears are also tears of sadness.
 She is already thinking of her coming dilemma.
- 81 *ibid.*, p. 234.
- 82 *ibid.*, p. 177.
- 83 *ibid.*, p. 250.
- 84 *ibid.*, p. 263.

- 85 *ibid.*, p. 253.
- 86 *ibid.*, p. 244.
- 87 *ibid.*, p. 278.
- 88 See above, notes 23, 26 and 27.
- 89 Gräfin, p. 245.
- 90 See Spaethling, p. 229 and Gräfin, p. 228.
- 91 See Brüggemann, S.G., p. 11.
- 92 Stamm, *op. cit.* (above, note 40), p. 195.
- 93 *ibid.*
- 94 *ibid.*, p. 196.
- 95 Gräfin, p. 188.
- 96 *ibid.*
- 97 *ibid.*, p. 187.
- 98 *ibid.*, p. 190.
- 99 cf. the thoughts of R. and his wife after Karlson's and Marianne's marriage (Gräfin, p. 190).
- 100 M. Greiner, Die Entstehung der modernen Unterhaltungsliteratur: Studien zum Trivialroman des 18. Jahrhunderts, ed. T. Poser (Munich, 1964), p. 31.
- 101 See Karoline's letter to the count (Gräfin, p. 173).
- 102 The count and Karoline, when referring to their misfortunes (Gräfin, pp. 197 and 209), never explicitly state that they are acts of retribution for their earlier love-affair. Both say "vielleicht". Bearing in mind Karlson's death at the hands of Dormund and not fate, as Marianne had thought, one might almost be inclined to discount fate's intervention in the calamities of the count and Karoline.
- 103 Arndt, *op. cit.* (above, note 53), p. 13.
- 104 J.G. Robertson, "The beginnings of the German novel", WR, CXLII (1894), 185.
- 105 Kretschmer, *op. cit.* (above, note 5), p. 53.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of the bourgeois social ideal in the German novel coincides with the transition from the baroque age to the age of Enlightenment. The baroque era may be characterized by its absolutistic courtly culture and its emphasis on "vanitas mundi." In the first instance, the courtly culture represented an attempt on the part of the ruling classes to justify their high position. For this reason the courtly novel incorporated historical episodes, glorified in appropriate places, so that history was in fact a series of symbolic portrayals of the prowess of the absolutistic ruler. In the bourgeois novels of the eighteenth-century, however, history plays no such role and is practically absent. These novels no longer concern the representatives of the leading classes, but are centred around upright bourgeois citizens who do not need to justify their position. New values had appeared, and an individual was no longer judged according to his class, but according to his moral virtues. The best example of this new attitude occurs in Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin when the countess is discussing marriage with R., and we have seen how, in this instance, Gellert affirms the position of the bourgeoisie - the value of this class had already been indicated when the countess, pursued by the agents

of intrigue (in an exact Schnabelian sense), sought refuge in the bourgeois world of R., Karoline and the others.

We have also seen the new attitudes towards friendship and wealth, and we are aware of an atmosphere of optimism and faith in one's fellow man. The optimistic tone of the eighteenth-century novels is, however, the culmination of another line of development.

The baroque emphasis on "vanitas mundi" implied a strong religious belief in the existence of the hereafter. The pessimism regarding temporal existence in Grimmelshausen's Simplicissimus conforms to this belief, for the novel's baroque world-interpretation ends (as already noted, with book five) with a rejection of the world. Yet by the end of the century the baroque religious philosophy had been replaced by an enlightened culture which affirmed temporal existence just as the baroque age had negated it. The concept of experience, lately made significant by the empiricism of Locke, was intrinsic to the new culture, and it was in the works of Christian Weise that this concept first appeared. As a forerunner of the Enlightenment, Weise, in his novels, is wholly didactic. His characters undertake a journey but are not searching for Divine grace; they intend to gain worldly experience, and their observations and judgments of the faults of others are meant to bring

this experience to the reader.

The optimism of Weise, shared too by Reuter, is also present in Schnabel's Die Insel Felsenburg. But here, although as far as the bourgeois society is concerned the baroque influence is negligible (there are some baroque elements which are insignificant for our purposes), the novel can hardly be termed a work of Enlightenment and certainly not a work in the Weise tradition. We are dealing, in fact, with a sentimental optimism, for which the pietistic movement is largely responsible and which appears in a slightly repressed form in Gellert's Schwedische Gräfin.

Realism, optimism and sentimentalism identify the middle-class culture of eighteenth-century Germany, and it is these characteristics, particularly the latter two, which pervade the early bourgeois novels and establish in them an independent bourgeois world. Much is owed to Weise and Reuter for the initial contribution to this establishment, but the major gratitude of the German middle class must go to Schnabel and, more important, to Gellert, in whose works the bourgeois ideal was finally realized.

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B29942